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Selections.

REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE, ON THE PETITION OF GEORGE LATIMER, AND OTHERS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Joint Special Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts, to whom was referred the petition of George Latimer, and more than sixty-five thousand citizens of Massachusetts; also the message of his excellency, the governor, communicating a copy of all the correspondence between the governor or authorities of the State of Virginia, and the executive department of this commonwealth, touching the case of George Latimer, ask leave to

REPORT.

This large body of petitioners, probably the most numerous that ever made application to the general court, ask three things, to wit:

1. That a law should be passed, forbidding all persons who hold office under the government of Massachusetts, from aiding in, or abetting the arrest or detention of any person who may be claimed as a fugitive from slavery.

2. That a law should be passed, forbidding the use of the jails, or other public property of the State, for the detention of any such person before described.

3. That such amendments to the Constitution of the United States be proposed, by the legislature of Massachusetts to the other States of the Union, as may have the effect of forever separating the people of Massachusetts from all connection with slavery.

These requests deeply affect the relation which Massachusetts bears to many of the States in this Union. They are requests which should not be lightly asked, or inconsiderately acted upon. The form of government established by the Constitution of the United States, has now been in successful operation more than half a century, and no propositions of the kind suggested are believed to have been ever before brought forward by so large a number of persons, for serious consideration, as in the present instance. The first impression upon the mind of every citizen would naturally be, that no change of the system, which has thus far worked favorably for the happiness of the greater number of the people who live under it, could be expedient. And at least, it must be admitted, that when any such change is proposed, the reasons which can be brought to bear in its favor should be of the strongest kind, before any one should be induced to recommend it. If this remark be true in all cases, it is most particularly so in those where the change proposed is likely to be regarded with an unfriendly eye by the citizens of some of the States, who may consider their rights partially impaired thereby. Your committee are strongly impressed by the force of these considerations. They would be very slow to yield their assent to any proposal not strongly grounded in reason, or that was urged solely for the purpose of agitating an exciting and dangerous subject. Yet, on the other hand, they are not prepared, in an over-earnest anxiety to avoid, or to defer the examination of such a subject, to shut their ears or their eyes to facts that force themselves on their attention, and to the evidence which is continually developing itself, with more and more clearness, to prove the necessity of sustaining, by decisive action, some of the great principles upon which the liberty of the citizen, and the value of all government, depend.

It cannot, and ought not to be concealed, that the feeling which prompts nearly seventy thousand persons to sign the present petition, is a feeling of uneasiness at the encroachments which the friends and supporters of the institution of domestic slavery in the United States, are believed by them to be making upon the great doctrines of human freedom. Of all the reasons which they have for so much uneasiness, your committee do not feel called upon to treat at this time; nor will they point out the specific instances in which republican principles have been grossly violated, in a manner to justify their fears, excepting in so far as they are directly connected with the points under consideration. For the sake of greater perspicuity, and in order to divide the matter proposed by the three points of the petition, in the way it naturally should take, your committee will first discuss that branch of the subject which relates to the prohibition upon all State officers to aid in the arrest of fugitives from labor; and the refusal of the use of the State jails for the detention of them. After that question shall have been disposed of, the propriety of offering amendments to the Constitution of the United States, will remain to be considered by itself.

It is only within a very short space of time, that the murmurs of dissatisfaction, which have been long heard against the abuse of both the executive and the legislative departments of the general government to further the interests of the slaveholding party in the Union, have reached to the third, the most firmly established in the respect of the American community, the judiciary. So long as the arbitrary doctrines which have marked the progress of that party, were perceptible only in those branches of our republican system which are liable to constant change, there was ground for hope of a return to a better system, through the purifying process of public opinion. But when the slightest indication of a spread of the same dangerous notions into the tribunals of justice of the Union appeared, there immediately followed a change in the character of the public feeling. The prospect grew more dark, because there was more of permanency in the quality of the coloring. This change is mainly to be attributed to one decision made by the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, at the judiciary term of the year 1842. Your committee refer to the case entitled, Edward Prigg *versus* the State of Pennsylvania. And inasmuch as upon that case has grown the request of the petitioners, the members of the committee feel it indispensably necessary not only to go into an examination of its principles and effect in this report, but to beg of the members of the general court to examine it for themselves. For, upon the view which each person will take of that decision, must depend the propriety or impropriety, in his mind, of adopting the measures which the committee will ultimately recommend.

Yet, before going into the brief notice of that case which may here be permitted, they desire unequivocally to signify the spirit with which they mean to proceed. They disclaim any disposition to oppose the Constitution of the United States, or to resist or deny the binding nature, upon the citizens of all the States, of the provisions which it contains. They do not seek to instigate any discontent with the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, organized as that tribunal is, in a perfectly constitutional form; and deciding questions that come up for its consideration, as it does, in a regular and unexceptionable manner. Whatever may have been the emotions with which they read the decision in the case in question, there was not mingled with them a particle of inclination to deny its validity, as a decree. However adverse it seemed, in its spirit and tendencies, to all the noblest principles at the foundation of a republican government, such as that of the United States claims to be, it was sufficient that the regularly constituted tribunal had declared such to be the law, to secure for it acquiescence on the part of those States whose rights are most deeply affected, and whose legislation is most extensively annulled by it. It is, however, one thing not to strive to contend with the authority of the court, and another to endeavor to discover justifiable and proper modes of remedying, at least in part, the evils which it has occasioned. Although your committee are in no sense inclined to dispute the power of the highest tribunal of the Union, they see no objection to making a calm examination of the reasoning which it uses, or to recommending such measures as are by itself admitted to be within the ability of the State to adopt, and are calculated to restrain the dangerous authority which it assumes. It is for the sake of defining what the extent of that authority is, as well as of ascertaining whether the time has come to recommend restraining measures, that your committee propose to refer to the case of Edward Prigg.

And, first of all, it may be as well to give in full the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, because it was on the construction of a part of it, that the case came up for decision:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Your committee have given the whole of the three clauses of the section, although the case of Prigg has reference only to the last of them. The reason is, that they will have occasion, in the course of their report, to allude to each of them in succession, and it may be convenient to look at them in the connection. It will be perceived that each clause is, in its character, restrictive of State authority. The first prohibits the creation of distinctions of citizenship in any one State, which would exclude citizens of the rest from a right to enjoy the privileges and immunities that citizenship may confer within its borders. The second restrains the States from harboring and protecting persons charged with crimes, and flying from justice from one State to another. The third secures slave owners in the States where the relation of master and slave exists, against the danger of losing ownership, by virtue of any legislation, which those States not recognizing slavery might adopt. It also directs that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up on "claim" of the owner.

Now, it is immediately perceptible, that a difficulty arises in the construction of this last clause in the section, from the use of the word "claim," there. What does "claim," in this connection, mean? Does it mean simply the assertion of a right to a person by a slave owner? or does it include the proof necessary to show that that assertion is founded in truth and justice? If only the first, then the liberty of every freeman in the land, of whatever color and complexion, is at the mercy of any person who may be unscrupulous enough to affirm him to be his slave; and none of the provisions of our laws, so carefully made to protect us from arbitrary imprisonment, can avail. If, on the other hand, it means a demand supported by evidence to make it good; then is it, or ought it to be, within the power of the person demanded, to enjoy the same opportunities of rebutting that evidence, which the law gives him in every other case of disputed right? And to that end he should have the privilege of immediate redress, if wronged, through the ordinary process of law, and a trial by twelve of his peers.

This is the first and greatest difficulty; to understand exactly what the word "claim" means; and this difficulty, the law of the United States, passed on the 12th of February, 1793, was intended to remove. That law was designed to specify the manner in which persons charged with crimes, and fleeing from justice from one State into another, should be demanded. In other words, its first application was to be to the second clause of the section of the Constitution already quoted, but it was also made to embrace a provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves, on "claim" made by the master. That provision is in the following words:

"When a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said States or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or territory from which he or she fled."

By this law it will be seen, that the Congress of the United States adopted a middle course in defining the sense of the word "claim," in the Constitution. They admitted that it was not enough to make a mere demand, and, upon that demand, to carry away the person demanded into captivity. But, on the other hand, they denied the necessity under it of substantiating the right of property to the same extent that is required in all ordinary cases of dispute at law. They specified the degree of proof which would be sufficient to establish the claim; and, setting aside the right of trial by jury, they reposed in the breast of any federal or State magistrate, even to the justice of the peace, the power of deciding, without appeal, upon the question of freedom or slavery for his fellow-men. Neither were they very severe in regard to the character of the evidence which might be adduced to sustain the claim. It may be oral or written. It may be only the certified oath of the claimant, sworn to before a magistrate in the slave territory itself. All that is necessary is, to make what is called in law a *prima facie* case, "such as, upon an ordinary warrant, would justify his commitment for trial."* Whereupon the judge, or justice of the peace, before whom a man claimed as a slave may happen to come, may, according to his will and pleasure, order his release, or consign him irrevocably to bondage.

Such are the passages of the Constitution, and the laws of the United States, upon which the judges of the Supreme Court were called to express an opinion in the case of Edward Prigg. They were required to say how far these controlled the power of the States to legislate upon the subjects to which they referred. Your committee understand their answers to establish—

1. That the federal government has an exclusive right to regulate the mode in which the "claim" of a master over his fugitive slave shall be made.

2. The Congress of the United States has already exercised that right in a perfectly constitutional manner through the law of 1793, already quoted.

3. All legislation on the part of the several States which directly or indirectly limits or restrains the right of recovery of fugitive slaves on "claim," as thus defined, is utterly null and void.

4. No State can pass a law in any way interfering with the power of summary removal of an individual "claimed" as a fugitive slave from its territory, provided that this power be exercised by the judges of the United States Courts; but it is not obligatory upon any State to suffer its own magistrates to exercise the same power.

Your committee regret to perceive, in this construction of the Constitution, no safeguard whatever for the liberty of a citizen who, though free, may happen to be seized in a place where he is unknown, on the "claim" of a slave owner. The writ of personal replevin, that of *habeas corpus*, and the right of trial by jury, all invaluable privileges of the citizen, fall a dead letter before the combined will of a careless, or unscrupulous magistrate, and a crafty kidnapper. It is to be feared that a decision cannot be well founded, which, in republican America, shall bring us to such results as these. It is, nevertheless, very true, that in the opinion given by the judges to justify their decision, a very opposite view is taken of it. "Construe the right of legislation as exclusive in Congress," they say, "and every evil and every danger vanishes." Your committee lament the circumstance, that they cannot see the matter in the same light. On the contrary, they would be more apt to affirm, that if you construe the right of legislation in the particular specified, to be so exclusive in Congress, as that it may make the general government able, at any moment, to destroy the force of every well-recognized principle of human liberty in the federal and State constitutions, then every evil and every danger, so far from vanishing, must be multiplied a thousand fold. Your committee take the liberty, very respectfully, to dispute the reasoning which leads to a result so alarming. The judges say, in extenuation, that, "in the exposition of the portion of the Constitution under examination, the court limits itself to those considerations which appropriately and exclusively belong to it, without laying down any rules of interpretation of a more general nature." And again: "Hence the safest rule of interpretation, after all, will be to look to the nature and object of the particular powers, duties, and rights, with all the lights and aids of contemporary history; and to give to the words of each just such operation and force, consistent with their legitimate meaning, as may fairly secure and attain the ends proposed." Perhaps this view may be the just one; but it is not the one which is most favorable to the preservation of the spirit of our free institutions. Your committee cannot help thinking that, in the interpretation of any one or of all the separate portions of that instrument, a general idea of the spirit in which it was conceived, and the high purposes it was designed to fulfill, should be uniformly observed to predominate. And to this end it is useful to hold in constant remembrance the strong words of the preamble, which furnish a tolerable clue to the intent, if such a clue were not everywhere to be found in the instrument itself. That preamble declares—

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, *and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity*, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

It was, then, to secure the blessings of liberty to the generations now in being in America, that the Constitution was adopted. That design should, then, be eternally kept in view, when construing each of its separate provisions. And although it may be admitted that the same rule of construction cannot, in every part, be rigidly adhered to, yet one thing ought to be insisted upon, which is, that whatever may be the form of the rule, it should, in substance, invariably favor the development of those blessings which it was the object to secure. And, moreover, it ought to be insisted on, that wherever a paragraph occurs in it consonant with the purposes declared in the preamble, it should be interpreted in its most liberal sense; and, on the other hand, wherever a paragraph occurs which is not in unison with the main design, that the meaning of it should be restrained, as far as possible to the precise purposes it was intended to serve.

The great objection which your committee have to make to the decision of the court, in this instance, is, that the rule of action here pointed out has been overlooked or disregarded. Hence the confined view taken of one particular clause of the Constitution, unfavorable to the principles of liberty, is made not simply to conflict with the construction of all the other clauses in it which secure to the people the blessings it ought to confer, but, in its practical effect, to ride over them all. It overturns, also, the great barriers in the declaration of rights of many of the separate States, which protect the citizen and guarantee his personal safety. And, above all, it proclaims to the world the startling truth, that the continuance of bondage to the slave is of more worth to the mind of Americans than the continuance of liberty to the freeman. For the question which your committee are now to consider, is not simply whether a slave shall be recovered after his escape from his master into territories where slavery is not recognized, but whether a freeman shall be enslaved, beyond the possibility of escape, at the mere volition of a town or county magistrate. It is the danger of the freeman which calls for the most attentive consideration. The execution of the clause of the Constitution for the delivery of slaves, would not, perhaps, be a legitimate ground for State interference, or State discussion, if it did not so happen that it was liable to overstep its appropriate sphere, and deprive a class of men of certain rights, in the enjoyment of which it is the bounden duty of the State to protect them.

Supposing, for example, that a colored man, a citizen of Massachusetts, should leave his home where he is known, to go to a distant place in pursuit of work. Supposing that a crafty kidnapper should have traced his progress, and, in an unguarded hour, should seize him, and make oath before a justice of the peace that he was a slave. The effect of this movement would be at once to strike from under him the only support which a freeman has, the common law rights, and those secured by the State Constitution. He would be at the mercy of the magistrate, who might be prejudiced, and not impossibly, might be corrupt. But even the most honest magistrate is only required to see that a *prima facie* case, "such as upon an ordinary warrant would justify a man's commitment for trial," is made before he is authorized to proceed to sentence him to slavery without appeal. The burden of proof is completely transferred from the party claiming the man as property to the party struggling to be free. Thus the most fully established principle in the governments of the United and the several States, that a man is presumed to be free until he is proved to be otherwise, is completely overturned, even in the free States, and the contrary is assumed, to wit: that some men shall be presumed to be slaves unless they shall, at all times, be prepared incontestably to prove their freedom.

Has it indeed come to this, that, after centuries of contest between the principles of absolutism and of liberty, no farther progress should have been made in establishing them in republican America, on immutable foundations, than such a doctrine would betoken? The old English common law goes very far beyond this. That law, from which we derive most of our impressions of civil liberty, distinctly condemns every invasion, direct or indirect, upon the freedom of the individual. What says Judge Blackstone on this point?

"Of great importance to the public is the preservation of this personal liberty; for if once it were left in the power of any, the highest magistrate, to imprison arbitrarily, whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the crown,) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. Some have thought that unjust attacks, even upon life or property, at the arbitrary will of the magistrate, are less dangerous to the commonwealth, than such as are made upon the personal liberty of the subject."

And yet this power, not merely of confining, but enslaving a man to do the work of another for life, is one which, according to the construction now contended for, is vested not simply in one high magistrate, but in every magistrate, high or low, whether of city, town or county, in every State of the United States. If this be security against tyranny, your committee are at a loss to know what constitutes the difference between a free and despotic government.

The complaint made against the decision of the Supreme Court, should be stated distinctly. It is that, in adjudicating the right of recovery of fugitive slaves, they have endangered the rights of freemen, and diminished their secure enjoyment of the blessings of liberty. If it be impossible to prevent an individual in a State from resorting to the process described, in a wrongful manner, against any person whom he shall think fit to claim as his slave; then it follows, that the barriers which have been considered as obstructing every attack upon personal liberty, are actually thrown down. Was it the intention of the framers of the Constitution, that one little clause, admitted by way of compromise with the upholders of slavery, should thus be made omnipotent against freedom? Surely not. Neither would the temper of the people of that day, just emerging from the contest of the revolution, have submitted to the construction a moment. It was not enough for them that the privilege of the *habeas corpus* was expressly secured to them in the body of the instrument; it was not enough for them that the preamble assured them that the object was "to secure to them and their posterity *the blessings of liberty.*" It was not enough that jury trials should be secured to them in cases of crime only—they incorporated into amendments the great principles which they felt ought to be acknowledged beyond the reach of equivocation. Those amendments, all of them, have more or less reference to the liberty of the individual citizen, and are designed to secure it. Take for example, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh:

4. "The right of the people to be secure *in their persons*, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation; and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

5. "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless, on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, *nor be deprived* of life, *liberty*, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

6. "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

7. "In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law."

If a man claimed by another as his slave, escaped from bondage, were to be considered a criminal, he would be entitled, by the seventh amendment above quoted, to a public trial, by an impartial jury. If he were regarded as a mere piece of property, above the value of twenty dollars, still, by the seventh amendment, the fact of ownership would require the judgment of a jury. In point of fact, however, he is not included in either or any of the above provisions. It is enough that he is "claimed" under the second section of the fourth article, to strip him of almost every privilege secured by our republican forms of government, and to lay him, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of any single magistrate, whom it is the pleasure of the claimant to select, and make the instrument of his will. Your committee cannot refrain from expressing their opinion, that any construction of the Constitution and laws, which leads to such practical incongruities in our republican institutions as this, must have its origin either in a very confined or a prejudiced view of the subject, and perhaps in some degree in both.

The great objection to the decision of the Supreme Court is, then, that by virtue of this confined view of one portion of the Constitution, it assumes as a rule of practical value, that slavery must be made the institution to be sustained even at the cost of all the safeguards to liberty. The consequence follows, that slavery and its doctrines furnish the standard of construction, and liberty is made the exception, instead of the rule. The result must be, as your committee have already stated, in every case where a man brings before a magistrate an individual whom he avers to belong to him as a slave, that magistrate, in the absence of all other testimony, is bound to believe his statement true. He must give the certificate which consigns him to slavery, unless the unfortunate person seized can distinctly prove his freedom. In what a dreadful condition this doctrine places all the individuals who have a shade of color in their skins, throughout the free States, must be instantly perceived. They have no security, when absent from their own homes, for an instant, against the arts of the wily kidnapper. On this point, the opinion of this court goes so far as to say, "that the owner of a slave has a right vested in him to seize and recapture his slave in every State of the Union, whenever he can do it, without any breach of the peace, or illegal violence," without the intervention of any forms of law whatever. The chief justice, in his separate opinion, confirms this view, and says that the very simple form required by the United States, of going before a magistrate, is wholly unnecessary. "No certificate or warrant is needed, if the person seized goes peaceably; and whoever resists or obstructs the claimant, is a wrongdoer." In other words, the chief justice construes the word "claim," in the second section, fourth article, to mean the mere assertion of a right; and living, as he does, on the very confines of slavery, he sees no difficulty in the way of a construction which shall cover a quiet seizure of any free colored man who may happen to live on the Pennsylvania border, whenever it shall be in the power of a Maryland kidnapper to catch him from home without free papers, and to drag him over the boundary of his freedom.

Let it not for a moment be supposed that this is any imaginary danger. The very case which caused the passage of the law of the United States, of 1793, adopting a different construction of the word "claim," from that of the chief justice, proves it is not. It appears that so long ago as the year 1788, John, a free negro, residing at Washington, in the county of Washington, and commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was seized and carried away into Virginia, by three white men. He was sold, and became the slave, for life, of Nicholas Casey, residing near Romney, on the south branch of the Potomac, in that State. The abolition society of Pennsylvania, having become aware of the fact, that these three white men, then under indictment as criminals under the laws of Pennsylvania, had taken refuge in Virginia, applied to their governor (Mifflin) to demand of the governor of Virginia those persons as fugitives from justice, under the second clause of the section in the Constitution, just at that time going into operation, which we have been considering. Governor Mifflin accordingly made the demand. But he was refused by the governor of Virginia, on the ground that the Constitution had not provided the means by which the provision respecting the surrender of persons flying from justice could be carried into effect. Thus it was, that the want of a supplementary law was made the plea under which kidnappers of a free negro were saved from punishment. He and his posterity were condemned to bondage, and the perpetrators of one of the most high-handed crimes that can be committed against a fellow-being, were protected, because the attorney-general of Virginia was not quite convinced that it ought to be called a crime.

And this is but a part of the picture. In consequence of this difficulty in the construction of an important part of the federal Constitution which had failed to punish men guilty of enslaving a freeman, Governor Mifflin submitted to President Washington all the facts in the case; and he, in his turn, sent them to Congress. The result was the introduction of a bill which did indeed provide against a recurrence of the difficulty complained of, but it also embraced a new and wholly different clause, directing the manner of recovering a slave. It is an unwelcome idea to receive; but your committee fear that attentive observation of the history of the country will show it to be just, that even the best legislation has not been suffered to go on without some incumbrance or other, which the upholders of domestic slavery have striven to impose, in order that they might the more certainly fasten it upon the States which do not, within their own limits, sanction that institution. The law of which we are now treating, furnishes a prominent example of the truth of this remark. The original recommendation of President Washington related solely to the subject of recovery of criminals flying from one State to another. It had grown out of an unpunished offense against the liberty of a freeman. The end proposed was to prevent a repetition of a similar accident. But the law did not go from the two houses of Congress without an appendage of a clause of wholly different intent. The friends of slavery could not consent to facilitate the surrender of men guilty of enslaving their fellows, without having a *quid pro quo* in a provision for the more effectual recovery, without the intervention of the ordinary forms of law, of their own escaping slaves. The passage of one clause was made to hang upon the success of the other; and thus the fair fruit of our legislation in one case, was made to envelop the bitter ashes of the other. It is needless to add, that this compromise, like every other which has been made upon the same subject, has turned exclusively to the benefit of the slaveholders. And even that very part of the law which was gained upon the representation of Governor Mifflin to secure the surrender of fugitive criminals, is now converted, by the ingenuity of slaveholding affidavit-makers, into a new engine for the recovery of their slaves.—The application to his excellency, Governor Davis, by the acting governor of Virginia, backed by the affidavit of James B. Gray, for the surrender of George Latimer, as a fugitive from justice, who is alledged to have been the latter person's slave, is an instance in point to which your committee will presently refer more at large. If such a construction of the Constitution could once be established as would justify the surrender of persons alledged to be slaves by the executive of a free State, on the oath of the master, that they had been guilty of crimes, this oath to be forwarded by the governor of the State in which that master resides, as the decisive evidence of their guilt, then it would need little foresight to conjecture the change of operations that would immediately take place in the South. The fugitive slave would be stripped of all public sympathy with his involuntary condition, and would, in every case where he could be traced, be made, by the invocation of the State power, to fall into the class of malefactors escaping from justice, whilst he could be deprived of the rights of habeas corpus, and of jury trial, with greater certainty and less odium, than if he had been claimed as a fugitive slave by the master alone.

Your committee will now return to the case of Prigg against the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of showing how utterly unprotected it has left the citizens of the free States, against violations of their personal liberty. The law of Pennsylvania, which was adjudicated upon and declared inconsistent with the United States Constitution, and therefore null and void, was a law passed by the legislature of that State, in the year 1826. It was passed at the instance and solicitation of commissioners, appointed by the constituted authorities of the neighboring State of Maryland, for the purpose of more thoroughly securing the recovery of slaves flying across the border which divides the slave and the free States. Its main design was to furnish an easy and speedy mode of restoration of such slaves, although not a summary one, nor one setting aside every right which would accrue, in all other cases, even to the vilest criminal. The only condition required, was the proper one, that the fact of bondage should be distinctly proved before the magistrate, previously to his giving the necessary certificate for the slave's surrender. In other words, the ordinary principle of our law was maintained, that a man should be presumed free, until the facts proved him to be a slave. In addition to these clauses, however, it did so happen that the framers of the law, in the exercise of a wise precaution, inserted two sections to guard against the probable abuse of the facilities conceded to slaveholders, for the purpose of kidnapping colored men actually free. The title of the law was "an act to give effect to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, relative to fugitives from labor, *for the protection of free people of color*, and to *prevent kidnapping*." And so far as your committee can perceive, it did very strictly mark out the precise line contemplated in the Constitution of the United States, between the concession made to slavery in one part of the instrument, and the preservation of the great principles which characterize almost every other part. The penalties imposed by it upon such persons as might, under the pretense of recovering fugitive slaves, come into the State and attempt to make use of its provisions to enslave the free, were not too heavy, nor injudiciously prescribed." Yet it was this unlucky exception in favor of the freedom of Pennsylvanians, which ultimately turned the boon so ardently sought for by the people of Maryland, into a stumbling-block of offense. It was this which induced them at last to deny the constitutionality of a statute which they had themselves procured to be passed, and to carry the question up, at the public expense, to be tried in the person of Edward Prigg, a slave-catcher, indicted under the law, by the highest judicial tribunal known to the country. That tribunal has formally decided in favor of Prigg, and has annulled the provision of the law of Pennsylvania which would have punished him. That tribunal has decided that the power to recover slaves on "claim," is universal, and can be restrained or regulated by no free State. It has decided that it is not possible for any State to pass statutes which, although intended to preserve the rights of freemen to a class of persons, by similarity of color perpetually liable to be mistaken for slaves, may yet involve the necessity of sometimes conceding the ordinary advantages of the law to the slave himself. It has decided that it is enough that a colored man be "claimed" as a slave, at once to take from him the right which the common law gives him, which almost every form of government in the free States confirms, and which the Constitution of the United States solemnly guarantees.

Your committee are deliberately of opinion, that a decision which arrives at a result so shocking to the feelings and the principles of every citizen in a land of freedom, must be in its principle erroneous. And they hope that a time may yet come when a revision, by persons, a majority of whom will not be directly interested in the question at issue, will restore to their vigor the genuine doctrines of liberty. That time cannot, however, be reasonably expected very soon; and in the meantime the question arises, what are the free States to do? Shall the slaveholder or the kidnapper range far and wide their limits, setting at defiance all the ordinary restraints of our laws, and carrying whom they please before any magistrate they please, even to an ordinary justice of the peace, there to be dealt with summarily, without the chance of appeal? Your committee cannot hesitate upon the answer which shall be given to these questions; and their only doubt has been upon the measures necessary practically to check this great power. Without, in the remotest degree, intending to recommend any steps of resistance to the execution of the clause of the Constitution which has been so liberally construed, so long as it shall remain a clause in that instrument, they do nevertheless feel the necessity of devising some method, strictly justifiable in itself, of restricting the scope of its operation. They consider the clause referred to so often, as an exception to the general character of the instrument that contains it. And further, that as such exception, all proceedings under it should be made to conflict, as little as possible, with the liberty of the citizen under State as well as the general government. If the slave must be made subject to recovery, he should not be made so under any reasonable doubt of the fact of his being held to service for life. For your committee must insist that, in spite of all the restraining provisions of the Constitution, it would be a far grosser violation of its general character and spirit to permit the enslaving of one freeman through its means, than the liberation of a thousand slaves.

It is a growing cause of complaint with the people of the free States, that the great principle which lies at the foundation of their political institutions, and forms the basis of the social theory, is now not simply denied in a large portion of the Union, but contemned. Government is, in its very essence, a surrender by individuals of a portion of the liberty which they possess in a state of nature, for the sake of more perfect protection against violence, of that which they do not surrender. But the practice has become general with the citizens of the slave States, to consider questions of national importance chiefly according to the bearing they may be expected to have upon the all-important point of maintaining a subjection, by force, of two or three millions of human beings. In order to effect this, the most self-evident truths are denied, and the plainest directions of the Constitution of the United States are set at defiance. The first object is to establish, not simply in their own territories, but throughout the Union, the proposition, that men of dark skin shall everywhere be presumed to be slaves, and that they shall nowhere be presumed to be citizens. In evidence of this, it is only necessary to refer to the manner in which the first clause of the section of the Constitution, already quoted—that which establishes the rights of citizenship throughout the States—is daily and hourly violated in most, if not all, the ports of the southern States. This violation is deliberate, because it has been persevered in for twenty years, notwithstanding that one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, himself a citizen of one of the States which set the example of authorizing it by legislative statutes, did long ago, from his judicial seat at home, pronounce such legislation unconstitutional. Neither does the case stop here. South Carolina, which took the lead in this measure of resistance to the Constitution, has been followed by most of the slave States of the Union. Year after year, the legislation complained of gains ground, by transmission from the elder to the younger States. Remonstrance from the free States is not listened to. But when a powerful foreign nation, which never suffers her citizens to be injured without claiming redress, and generally exacting it, when not voluntarily offered—when Great Britain interferes, and points to commercial engagements infringed, then the laws, which are never relaxed in their application to brethren of the same nation, are suspended, so far as they relate to the stranger. And, as if to crown all, the very terms of the common bond are now disputed, and the sense of it absolutely denied. Those persons who are known in Massachusetts as citizens, are declared not to be such citizens, and therefore not entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizenship, by the voice, not of her own people, but by that of communities living at a distance from her territories. And the resolutions heretofore passed by her representatives and senators, legally elected to serve in her general court, for the purpose of uttering her will—resolutions remonstrating against the tyrannical edicts which oppress some of her citizens—instead of meeting with even respectful attention, are characterized by the authorities of at least one of the States complained of, as the sickly effusions of fanaticism—as if a mockery of the simple words of the Constitution of the United States were not enough, without superadding insult to injury, and to the downright violation of all right.

Upon this topic, however, your committee do not propose to dilate further in this report. Enough has probably been said to show the effect which the legislation of the slave States has had to destroy the force of the Constitution in one particular—the general rights of citizenship, which it was intended to confer. The same result is again observable in the construction attempted to be placed upon the second clause of the section, which has been heretofore quoted. And it is still more strikingly visible in the action had under the third and last. Nowhere can this truth be more strikingly seen, than in the course of proceeding adopted in the case of George Latimer. That is the case which immediately gave rise to the great petition referred to the consideration of your committee, upon which they now report.

On the 19th day of October, 1842, a colored man, represented to be more white than black, was seized in the streets of Boston, by an officer of justice, upon a warrant issued from the police court of that city, on a complaint entered against him by E. G. Austin, esq. for larceny committed at Boston, within the limits of the commonwealth. Mr. Austin had no personal cause of complaint in the case, but was acting only as the attorney of James B. Gray, a white citizen of Norfolk, in the State of Virginia. Mr. Austin knew that no such larceny as that complained of had been committed in Massachusetts; but, according to his own statement, from entire inattention to the mode in which the complaint was entered, suffered the error to escape his observation. He had intended to have entered it as committed in Norfolk, in Virginia, which is a place wholly without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Be this as it may, Latimer was seized, and put into jail, upon a warrant that could not have stood a moment's legal investigation. But the instant that he was lodged in jail, the same constable who had placed him there, forthwith changed his attitude, and assumed to detain him by a different authority. He produced a written power, signed by Mr. James B. Gray, to detain Latimer as a fugitive from labor due to him. Mr. Austin had acted as the attorney of Mr. Gray, in the matter of the criminal complaint, only that he might the more effectually serve his main purpose of recovering his slave. That slave had been seized, and the fact of his seizure, right or wrong, was enough. The presumption of law, as established in the case of Edward Prigg, went into instantaneous effect, by which a man, seized, no matter how, so long as he was seized, had become liable to "claim," under the Constitution. In other words, he was stripped of every defense which the law allows to each individual citizen; even of that which he would have had if committed for the very offense with which he had been charged. He was now subject to be immediately hurried into slavery, provided that he could not demonstrate the fact of his right to his freedom. The complaint against him as a criminal, had done its work of making him a slave. The warrant which had been first made, had served the end proposed, notwithstanding the fact, that the complaint on which it rested was so grossly and flagrantly false, that the complaining attorney was driven to substitute another, even in the short period before he deemed it expedient to discontinue that part of his operation altogether.

Latimer was now in jail. The criminal law had been successfully prostrated to the use of the slave-catcher, and the writ of habeas corpus, that of personal replevin, and the right of trial by jury, fell a dead letter before the decree of the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg. The very judge who had pronounced that decree, the judge who had probably been selected the spokesman for his brother slaveholding judges, because he was not himself one, was the person to whose lips was to be commended the first bitter draught prepared from his own chalice. No judge of the State courts would take a part in the matter, either for or against the surrender of Latimer. The case of Prigg had struck them all with paralysis. In this connection, the question whether he was or was not in reality a fugitive slave, is of no consequence. The fact of his freedom would have made no difference in diminishing his wrongs or his sufferings. It was the iron rod of slavery, wielded by the Supreme Court of the United States, that had broken down all the supports of American liberty. Still, in justice to the distinguished and highly-respected judge who presides in the circuit court of the United States for Massachusetts, it ought to be stated that he had no share in the imprisonment of Latimer in the county jail. That was still continued, although even the shadow of warrant that originally palliated it, had disappeared. According to the 143d chapter, 1st section, of the revised statutes, "the common jails in the charge of the respective sheriffs, shall be used as prisons: first, for the detention of persons charged with offenses, and duly committed for trial. Secondly, for the detention of persons who may be duly committed, to secure their attendance as witnesses on a trial of any criminal causes. Thirdly, for the confinement of persons committed pursuant to a sentence upon conviction of an offense; and of all other persons, duly committed for any cause authorized by law." Lastly, it is declared that the provisions of the section "shall extend to persons detained or committed by authority of the courts of the United States, as well as the courts and magistrates of this commonwealth." Very clearly does it then appear, that for the space of nearly one month after the complaint made by Mr. Austin against Latimer, had been, on his motion, dismissed in the police court, he was kept in jail; although neither "charged with an offense, and duly committed for trial," nor yet "detained as a witness on any criminal trial," nor yet "committed pursuant to a sentence upon conviction, or for any cause autho-

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*See Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, iii. 677.

rized by law." Neither was he "detained by the authority of the United States courts;" for the order of Judge Story directs nothing of the kind. It simply places him in the custody of Mr. Gray. From all which, it does most clearly appear, not only that the criminal process of Massachusetts has been outrageously perverted to the purposes of slave-catchers, but that a jail has been made the storehouse, and the officers of justice have become voluntary instruments to effect the purpose of a man who branded a human being as a criminal, only for the sake of bringing him near his own person again as a slave.

Neither is the whole of the story yet told. Since the discovery, by Mr. Gray, of the fact that his own labors cannot avail, the power of the sovereign State of Virginia has been invoked by him, to gain his end. Not content with compounding his claim on Latimer for a sum of money, which, however good the intention may have been, never should have been paid to him, within the limits of Massachusetts, Mr. Gray, since his return to Norfolk, has made an affidavit in substance, that Latimer there stole two pocket-books and a hair-brush from him, though it appears that he admits they were left behind him, and exposed to view. Upon so doubtful a pretense as this, the acting governor of Virginia has thought it his duty to demand the surrender of Latimer by the governor of Massachusetts, under the second clause of the portion of the federal Constitution, so often quoted. The fugitive slave is instantly converted into "a person charged with treason, felony, or other crime, who has fled from justice." Thus it is, that the spirit of slavery, flying from one paragraph of the Constitution to another, seeks to wrest out of each, in turn, the necessary strength to maintain itself. Thus it is, that, whilst one provision intended to extend the blessings of freedom and citizenship is, at its nod, utterly annihilated, two others are converted into instruments for fastening the chain on the neck of the slave more firmly than ever, through the agency of those who boast that they acknowledge no such system within their limits. That very government which has been shown to have hesitated, fifty years ago, about calling the seizure and sale of a free inhabitant of Pennsylvania "a crime," included among those referred to in the Constitution, is at this day disposed to attempt the recovery of a slave, on the allegation made by his master—the individual most interested in procuring his surrender—of a possible petty larceny, never proved against him. The correspondence which has taken place between the acting governor of Virginia, and the late governor of Massachusetts, is among the papers which have been referred to your committee. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, in their opinion, the conduct of Governor Davis, in refusing to listen to a demand founded upon authority so trifling, was perfec ly correct. Any opposite decision to this, could have been attended with no other effect than the demolition of one more bulwark against the complete domination of the slaveholding principle over the land.

In conclusion of this part of the subject, the discussion of which has extended further than was originally intended, the question remains yet to be settled, what is best to do. Your committee all agree in the opinion, that the decision of the Supreme Court has enlarged instead of restricting the influence of the slaveholders over the country. They agree in the belief, that it has diminished instead of securing the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, as promised to the present generation by the preamble of the Constitution. Yet it is difficult to ascertain precisely what course should be pursued in the present emergency. Your committee will not recommend any measure, however well adapted in appearance, to the prevention, for the future, of such outrages as were executed upon the person of Latimer, which has a tendency to conflict with the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, exercised within its legitimate sphere. And yet, they are unwilling to suffer an instant to pass, without the proposal of some new safeguard for the personal liberty of the citizens of Massachusetts. Luckily, the decision of the judges in the case of Prigg, which has occasioned the dilemma, furnishes in one portion of it a clue to help them out of it. Thus the very weapon that inflicted the wound, may be made to furnish some matter with which to heal it. For, whilst on the one hand the majority of the judges rigidly insist upon the right of the general government to execute the provisions of the law of Congress, of 1793, for the better recovery of fugitive slaves on "claim" made by their owners, through officers of its own creation; on the other hand, it leaves the State perfectly free to refuse the co-operation of their magistracy, whenever they shall think it right so to do. The law of Congress confers a power of deciding, without appeal, upon the liberty of human beings and their posterity, upon State judicial officers, down to a justice of the peace. The court decides that they may, if they choose, exercise the authority thus conferred, "*unless prohibited by State legislation.*" From such an exception, it necessarily follows, that the States have it perfectly within their power to make such a prohibition, whenever they shall think fit so to do. In view of the case of the negro John, in Pennsylvania, in 1738, of that of Edward Prigg, in 1840, and of that of George Latimer, in 1842, in view of the liability to abuse, for the worst of purposes, of the power given to so many magistrates, as well as of the protection which thousands of freemen in Massachusetts have a right to demand of the State, your committee can no longer doubt what should be done. This arbitrary authority to dispense with the ordinary forms of law in cases of the utmost importance to individual liberty, must be, as far as practicable, withdrawn. Your committee are willing, that the injunction upon the States not to pass laws liberating fugitive slaves, should remain in full force, since "it is so nominated in the bond." They will even submit to the necessity, that they should be delivered up to their masters on "claim," even though the evidence sufficient to support that claim would not be deemed sufficient in the State courts to decide a question of disputed property, in value exceeding twenty dollars. "The law allows it, and the court awards it." But the force of the award must be strictly confined within its exact limits; because it is unfavorable to the great principles of liberty which the Constitution was designed to establish. Your committee recommend that the State surrender no more power than they have literally agreed to do. They cannot consent to let its magistrates, in whose hands no similar jurisdiction can be vested by its own Constitution and laws, pass without repeal, without responsibility to the power that created them, and without the interference of a jury, upon the right of living men to their freedom. They cannot permit the prostitution of the criminal process of the State, or of its property set apart for certain specific purposes, to the base uses of men engaged in the honorable business of enslaving their fellows. To furnish extraordinary facilities for the establishment of a system of oppression within the limits of Massachusetts, they are not bound by any law, human or divine. No political party within her territory would sanction the idea a moment. For the purpose of providing against the danger apprehended, and in order to meet the wishes of the petitioners, as expressed in two parts of the petition, your committee ask leave to report a bill.

There remains yet to be considered the third request, which is, "That the legislature propose such amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as shall forever separate the people of Massachusetts from all connection with slavery."

This is a wholly independent proposition of the preceding ones, far more extensive in its bearing, and one of great difficulty properly to discuss, which your committee feel, in the already too great length of the present report. The first question for consideration is, What is that connection of Massachusetts with slavery, which it is the object of the prayer to have severed? Something of its nature has, perhaps, been already disclosed in this report, but nothing of its extent. Yet if the doctrine generally assumed to be true in the slaveholding States, and not infrequently repeated, even in Massachusetts, that the free States have now no connection with slavery, and consequently have no business to meddle at all, were actually sound, then there would be no ground for the prayer of the petitioners. It is because they feel that this doctrine is directly in the face of all the facts, that they ask for action by which it can be made to conform to them. The petitioners ask, that the very state of things which the people of the slave States affirm they most earnestly desire, should be established. They deny that it is established now. They insist that the Constitution of the United States, in some of its provisions, imposes upon them obligations to sustain the institution of domestic slavery, which they feel to be not merely burdensome, but exceedingly disgusting to them. And they seek a remedy, not by refusing to abide by the contract, or seeking forcibly to get rid of it, but in a perfectly legitimate way; by the proposing of amendments to the instrument, to which the parties must assent, or they cannot be made.

That there is a growing feeling, throughout the free States, of dissatisfaction with the operation of the slaveholding power upon the system of the general government, can hardly be denied by any person accustomed to observe the tone of public sentiment. It is partly based upon a moral and religious scruple against the lawfulness of slavery in any form, and partly upon less exalted views of the political preponderance acquired through its means. But in either shape which it assumes, it has had, and has now, very little to do with the movement of the great parties into which the country is divided, or with the leading individuals who represent them. It is the spontaneous burst of the moral feeling of a portion of the people themselves, acting in resistance to the doctrines of political expediency, and to the interests of all the active statesmen of the day. As such, it deserves to be treated with respect even by those who see nothing but danger from the movement, and whether it meets with it or not, at present, it will scarcely fail in the end to secure it. When nearly seventy thousand persons, in a population not much more than ten times that number, unite in a single request of the nature now under consideration, there is reason to suppose that a feeling is at work in the community of which they form a part, which will not rest satisfied with inaction or indifference as it regards the questions they choose to agitate. Your committee could not be guilty of either, if they would. It is due to them to say, in addition, that they would not, if they could.

But so great is the connection of slavery with the people of Massachusetts, through the obligations imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States, that a great difficulty occurs at the threshhold, to know how to propose amendments, which shall have the effect desired without completely destroying the instrument itself, and making necessary the framing a new one. Slavery, which crept in at the window of the edifice when it was building, under an implied promise to remain but for a time, has now grown so large that it occupies all the space, and cannot be put out of the door without hazard to the entire erection. The basis of representation now makes the slaveholding interest all powerful in the legislative department of the government. The same thing dictates to the chief magistrate, whoever he may be, the necessity of submitting to the power that creates him. The same influence insinuates itself, by a more covert and dangerous road, into the bench of the judiciary. The great principles of the Constitution are made to bend to it where they cannot be broken. No aspirant for political distinction can hope to gain it a moment longer than he can accommodate his most enlarged notions of popular liberty, to the necessity of maintaining slaveholding doctrines, and slavery, throughout the territory of the Union. Such is a condensed statement of the facts proved by the experience of the past; but it is an easier thing to describe the evil than to define the remedy.

A keen sense of the unfavorable influence which slavery has exerted upon the character of the Union generally, and the interests of the free States in particular, has led some persons to commit aggressions on the rights secured to the slaveholders, which cannot altogether be justified. On the other hand, the slaveholders themselves, irritated by these constant attacks upon that which they deem to be their property, and feeling that, on account of them, their right to that property is daily becoming more uncertain, have been instigated to commit acts, and adopt principles, which can neither morally nor politically be sanctioned. The process thus described as having taken place, is yet going on, and bids fair to continue, so long as the connection now existing between the free and the slave States, under the Constitution of the United States, is maintained. It would probably be a fortunate event for both parties, and for the duration of the common form of government now well established, if such amendments to the Constitution as would remove the causes of complaint on both sides, could be adopted before a degree of irritation shall take place, which may prove beyond the control of reasoning. It is idle to suppose that the organization now formed against the progress of slaveholding doctrines, an organization which has survived every conceivable form of discouragement in its infancy, will ever be surrendered so long as slavery retains its power. It is equally idle to expect that the slaveholding doctrines themselves will be abandoned so long as the immense amount of property which they are designed to sustain shall continue to be at stake upon the issue. The only hope for peace, under these circumstances, is to be derived from the withdrawal of the material to feed the fire of contention. And much of this material is to be found in the articles of the Constitution of the United States, construed and acted upon as they have been, for the most part, by persons interested in the maintenance of slavery.

Your committee might, if they thought proper, go into a detailed examination of the history of the general government, in order to show how the slave system has bent the executive department to its will, both in shaping the foreign and the domestic policy of the administration; how it has controlled the Congress of the United States, until it has actually substituted for the will of the people in the consideration of such measures as they may desire, the power of a majority of representatives to exclude every thing which they dislike; and how it has prompted the judiciary to extend, over the whole of the free States, the force of those arbitrary doctrines which, if heard in America at all, should have expended themselves within the limits in which arbitrary power is sustained by the local law. But they abstain for many reasons, and principally because they do not desire to say anything unnecessarily to provoke opposition. In the discussion of a topic so full of danger, it is, above all, expedient and proper that nothing be said which may cause needless irritation. The truth must be spoken at all times fearlessly when it is indispensable to the justification of any measures that may be proposed, but it needs not to be attended with words of anger or of provocation.

The time appears to have arrived, when it is proper to look to the cause of the difficulties which have taken place in the progress of the general government, for some years past. Through all the contests of the political parties which have taken place, one fact is visible; and that is, the steady ascendency of the slave-holding principles. This fact can be accounted for only in one way. It is the basis of representation in the popular branch of the legislature, which establishes that ascendency. Twenty-five representatives, elected by the citizens of the slaveholding States, in addition to the number which they are entitled to by their free population, have, for ten years past, controlled the destinies of the country.—Twenty-five electoral votes, gained to the masters from the chains of two millions of human beings, and held forth as the prize to that individual and that party which will consent to make the greatest sacrifices of principle to obtain them, are sufficient to decide the character of the government policy.—This has been submitted to without great murmuring up to this time, but there are many indications to prove that it will not be so any longer. The free States have a right to be heard on this point, because the original compromise, which was made upon this subject in the Constitution, and which let in this enormous power, has, in its practical effect, been wholly favorable to the slave States, and without any benefit at all to them. The power which is gained by the white slave-owners, through the representation of their slaves, is a constant, enduring, and increasing power; whilst the slight relief from the proportional burdens, experienced by the citizens of the free States, through the taxation of those slaves, has been experienced only during the very brief periods, few and far between, when direct taxes have been levied by the federal government. For the last ten or twenty years that the slave power has pressed the hardest upon the free States, these have derived not a particle of compensation for the burden. It is now the moment to state this frankly and fearlessly, and to ask for a revision of the contract.

Your committee have then come to the conclusion to recommend that an amendment of the Constitution be proposed in the third clause of the second section of the first article. They believe that the root of the evil which threatens the peace and happiness of the Union lies there. They would eradicate it if they could. But at any rate they deem it not unwise that Massachusetts should act under a provident eye to the future, and by a calm and frank exposition of her doctrines, endeavor to guard against dangers to come. The representation of a free country ought to be the representation only of the free. Let this principle be once carried out, and the government of the United States will assume a moral power on the face of the earth which it has never yet enjoyed. Let this principle be carried out, and the geographical distinctions which threaten the integrity of the Union, and against forming which Washington's last words so earnestly forewarned us all, will lose the greatest source of their support. Neither will the slaveholding States lose so much by assenting to the change, as they may at first imagine. Let them once remove the necessity of acknowledging the influence of the slave in the national councils, and they will remove the strongest incitement to agitating the question of his freedom. Let them cease to extend their local law over States which cannot assent to its propriety, and they will be more likely to maintain it undisturbed at home. The great object with Massachusetts, is to free itself from all responsibility, direct or indirect, for the continuance and spread of slavery in the United States. If it must exist, let it exist without sanction from the free States. Let those only sustain it, who think they derive pleasure or profit from the relation. It is non-interference, based upon a total separation of interests in the subject, which is the point aimed at by the present proposal.

But it may be objected to the committee's amendment, that it will not, of itself, even if adopted by the requisite number of States, effect the purpose intended by the petitioners. The remark is true.—There are several passages of the Constitution, besides that fixing the basis of representation, which connect the free States with slavery. They are all, however, of secondary consequence, when compared with that, and as they probably draw their vitality from, so they would die with it. Your committee are, for this reason, unwilling to weaken the force of the position taken by them on the main question, by, at the same instant, opening a variety of smaller ones. It is the slave representation, which in their belief is effecting, by slow but sure degrees, the overthrow of all the noble principles that were embodied in the federal Constitution. To that, let the public attention be exclusively directed. If, in the process necessary to the procuring a removal of it from the instrument of government, it should become advisable to consider the points of minor consequence, this may be done then as easily as now, and with more effect. The withdrawal from the Constitution of the slave representation, would alone, in the opinion of your committee, be of force enough to carry with it the remaining obstacles to that complete and effective separation from all connection with slavery, which the petitioners desire.

With these views, your committee close by submitting to the consideration of the legislature, a resolve. By order of the committee,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-three. Resolves, concerning an amendment to the Constitution of the U. States.

Resolved, That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be and hereby is recommended to the consideration of Congress, to be acted on according to the fifth article:

The third clause of the second section of the first article shall read in the words following:

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which are or may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers of free persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within two years from the date of the adoption of this amendment, in the manner provided by the Constitution, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as the Congress shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative."

Resolved, That his excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the aforegoing resolve, and the proposed amendment, to each of the Senators and members of the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth in the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That his excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the same resolve and amendment to the executive of the United States, and of the several States.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.—In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

AN ACT, FURTHER TO PROTECT PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECT. 1. No judge of any court of record of this commonwealth, and no justice of the peace, shall hereafter take cognizance, or grant a certificate, in cases that may arise under the third section of an act of Congress, passed February 12, 1793, and entitled, "an act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," to any person who claims any other person as a fugitive slave within the jurisdiction of the commonwealth.

SECT. 2. No sheriff, deputy-sheriff, coroner, constable, jailor, or other officer of this commonwealth, shall hereafter arrest or detain, or aid in the arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any jail or other building belonging to this commonwealth, or to any county, city, or town thereof, of any person, for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave.

SECT. 3. Any justice of the peace, sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, constable, or jailor, who shall offend against the provisions of this law by in any way acting directly or indirectly under the power conferred by the third section of the act of Congress aforementioned, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars for every such offence, to the use of the county where said offense is committed, or shall be subject to imprisonment not exceeding one year in the county jail.

MEMORIAL OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Is there room in the Standard for the following excellent memorial? Excellent, with the exception of the second paragraph. It is to be regretted that our Baltimore Friends are not a little more guarded in stating matters of fact. They say that Friends "have never *improperly* interfered with the existing laws, nor engaged in any measures *illegally* to disturb the relations which those laws have sanctioned between the master and slave." I admit that they have not "*improperly*" so interfered, but I would ask, did any true Friend ever hesitate to violate the laws that required him to bear arms? that forbade him to liberate *his* slaves? or that made it penal to harbor, or aid on his way, the slave that had escaped from his master? It is singular, too, how the reception, which this very memorial met with in the legislature of Maryland, has confuted some of the positions laid down in a late document issued by the Baltimore Yearly meeting. Mark the following: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; in its exercise under the divine government, it awakens no *angry passions*;" while it bears its testimony to the Truth, *it opens the ears of the Hearers to receive it.*" We are told that this memorial was so unfavorably received by the body to whom it was addressed, that the memorialists were permitted to withdraw it. If so, and it was written in the "Love" they speak of, why did it not "open the ears of the Hearers *to receive it?*" When the laws of God and man are irreconcilably at variance, which of these will true Friends obey? M.

To the General Assembly of Maryland, the Memorial of the Representatives of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in the city of Baltimore, respectfully represents,—

That your memorialists, with deep concern and regret, have seen introduced into the present and the immediate preceding legislatures of Maryland, propositions for the enactment of laws, the effect of which, if passed, would be further to abridge the privileges of the colored population of our State, and to multiply the difficulties of those who, under a sense of duty, are desirous of emancipating their slaves.

Your memorialists, though firmly believing that slavery, as it exists in our country, is a great moral and social evil, and though they have long felt it to be their duty to abstain from any direct participation in it, by holding slaves themselves, yet they have never improperly interfered with the existing laws, nor engaged in any measures illegally to disturb the relations which these laws have sanctioned between the master and slave; and in approaching you, at this time, they explicitly disclaim any purpose or intention, other than, by an earnest appeal to that unerring standard of righteousness and justice, which our beneficent Creator has placed in the hearts of the children of men, to solicit from you, as the only constitutional authority to which they can appeal, compassion and mercy for this long and greatly oppressed race. These people are weak and helpless; but they have not been reduced to this hapless condition by any act of their own.—Their ignorant and degraded situation, is the effect of the wrongs and oppressions that have been inflicted upon them; and whatever may be their humiliation or degradation, they are, in common with ourselves, the offspring of the Universal Parent, "who hath made of one blood, all nations of men," and before whom we must all appear. His parental care is over the smallest of His creatures, and their affliction is not hid from Him.

The circumstances of our country at this time, are such as to call forth the deepest solicitude, and should awaken the anxious concern of every reflecting mind; we are indeed surrounded by grave and serious embarrassments, and are loudly called upon to look with reverence to the Fountain of all true wisdom, to influence and direct our councils, and to guide our steps. In the volume of inspiration we are admonished, that "affliction cometh not forth from the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground," and therefore we may rest assured, that as certainly as "there is a God that judgeth in the earth," so certain it is, that for all the difficulties and troubles that now encompass us, there is a cause. Will it not, then, be wise in us, to seek out, and, as far as in our power, endeavor to remove this cause.

No axiom is more true, than that it is as much the interest, as it is the moral duty, of every man, to do right, and strictly to comply with the plain injunction of our Lord and Master, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." We know that by a strict adherence to this divine command, we promote our own peace and comfort, and experience confirms the important truth, that as its observance is of indispensable obligation upon all mankind, so every departure from its requisition is followed by the appropriate baneful consequences. The exercise of oppression upon our fellow-men, under whatever circumstances it may occur, or however it may be effected, is a direct infraction of this law, and the results ever have been, and always must be, disastrous.

Your memorialists do not desire to enlarge upon the subject, nor to trespass upon your time one moment longer than will be necessary to gain your calm and deliberate reflection, upon the important matter which they have believed themselves solemnly called upon, impressively to bring before you. They earnestly entreat you to pause, and seriously to consider consequences, before you take any measures that will increase the evils already resting upon our nation, by adding further oppression upon an unoffending helpless people, whose condition, so far from justly exciting sentiments of unkindness, gives them strong claim upon our compassion and pity.

In conclusion, your memorialists most respectfully and earnestly solicit, for the colored population of our State, your kind consideration and favor: and may you, in all your deliberations, upon this, and every other subject that may come before you, seek after, and be influenced by, that "wisdom which is first pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be treated, full of mercy and of good fruits." en-

Signed by direction and on behalf of the representatives aforesaid, WM E. BARTLETT, *Clerk.*

Communications.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DEFENDED.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 25, 1843.

Sometime since, I noticed a remark of yours, that you had requested Mr. O'Sullivan to inform you, in case the democrats should give any votes friendly to the right of petition; to which you added, in substance, that as they gave no such votes, you could not publish them.

And in your paper of February 23, 1843, you say, "We have sought eagerly to find something to praise in the democratic party, in relation to slavery;" "but as yet our efforts have been in vain."

If you speak of the parties as a whole, throughout the Union, I readily admit that nothing favorable in reference to slavery can be found in the action of *either* party; and therefore it is wrong that there should be so much direct and indirect puffing of the whigs, in the Standard, and other anti-slavery papers; but if you speak of the individual members, and sectional portions of each party, and so speaking, have found so much as your paper has contained in commendation of the whigs, and nothing to praise in the democrats, then that fact convinces me that you are not a close observer of political affairs yourself, and that those who furnish you with information for publication, seek only that which goes to elevate the whigs, or depress the democrats, in the eyes of anti-slavery readers.

I will now endeavor to point out some of the facts which you have overlooked; premising, that I consider the right of petition as a question entirely *distinct* from anti-slavery; and that abolitionists have no more right to have their petitions received, than any other portion of the community.

In the present Congress of the United States, I believe that the number of democrats who have uniformly sustained the right of petition is greater, and probably at least double that of the whigs. Speaking from memory, I believe not more than three whigs have uniformly voted against gag rules; and of these, one, viz: Mr. Adams, has abandoned the principle of the right of petition, in refusing to present petitions for the dissolution of the Union, ever since the compromise, by which the resolutions of censure upon him were abandoned, and he became a leader of the slaveholding whig party; announcing, in his speech against Mr. Tyler, that Mr. Clay was the only candidate of the whigs.

We next proceed to Pennsylvania. In the legislature of this State, some two years since, some petitions, couched in respectful language, were offered, asking a repeal of the laws which give a preference to certain religious doctrines, and punish those who dissent from them by word or action. *Every whig* voted against receiving these petitions, and for a resolution applying opprobrious language to the petitioners. Mr. Penniman, a *democratic* senator from the county of Philadelphia, opposed this resolution in a speech, and advocated the right of the petitioners to be heard. His *democratic* constituents sanctioned his conduct, by re-electing him. There were two meetings held in Philadelphia, one in favor of the right of petition, and the other in disapprobation of the course of Congress towards Mr. Giddings. In these meetings, democratic politicians took an active part; but the whig politicians avoided them.

In the State of Vermont, the democratic members of the legislature have, I believe, repeatedly voted unanimously in favor of resolutions sustaining the right of petition. In Massachusetts, they have done the same: and there has probably not been a single democratic candidate for Congress in that State for sometime past, who has not been an open advocate of the right of petition. In Maine, the House of Representatives, containing a large democratic majority, last year adopted an excellent report and resolutions, sustaining the right of petition. In all the northern States, there have been very few democratic newspapers, and very few candidates for any office, who have opposed this right of petition; yet, in the face of all these facts, the general tenor of the Standard, and other anti-slavery papers, has been such as to convey to a stranger to the facts, the impression that the democratic party was leagued, en masse, or nearly so, throughout the Union, against the right of petition.

I now proceed to the question of abolition itself; which, as I have remarked, is distinct from the right of petition. If the whig abolitionists would have given their votes for democratic candidates for Congress, avowedly favorable to emancipation, we might have had several such there, and then we should have known what they would do. But as our abolition papers would not sustain such candidates, and our whig abolitionists would not vote for them, we have had no such men in Congress. We have, however, several whigs there, who are professed abolitionists at home; one, I believe, a prominent officer of an abolition society; and we have some other whigs there, who, though not *professed* abolitionists, have been deemed sufficiently favorable to receive the support of anti-slavery newspapers and voters, without which they could never have been elected. What have these men done? Nothing at all, except to dodge the main question, and endeavor to force the abolitionists into the whig ranks, by getting up a separate issue, which would not be so offensive to slaveholders as to create a schism in the whig ranks.

Though they have received petitions, and those from Vermont *instructions*, to go for radical abolitionism, not one of them has ever offered a real anti-slavery resolution. They strive to create the impression, (and our anti-slavery papers aid them in the attempt,) that they are prevented, by the gag rule, from offering such resolutions. This, however, is not the fact. The speaker has decided that our petitions for an *alteration of the Constitution* do not come within that rule; and, of course, resolutions to the same effect do not. Why have none of those members offered *such* a resolution, and taken a vote on its consideration? Simply, as I believe, because such vote must show the northern whigs in their true colors, to the slaveholders on the one hand, or the abolitionists on the other. It would unmask them. Mr. Slade has offered a resolution to suspend the gag rule so far as to permit him to introduce a resolution to prohibit the slave *trade* (not *slavery itself*) in the District of Columbia; which, if adopted, would remove the slave factories some two or three miles from their present position. Why did he not offer a resolution, conformable to his *instructions*, to suspend the rule, for the purpose of moving the *entire abolition of slavery*, in the District and other territories? Because, this would have drawn the line with more distinctness. The slaveholders care not for such resolutions as Mr. Slade offered. Mr. Charles Miner, of this State, offered a similar resolution in Congress, some years ago; and yet Mr. Miner has always been, and now is, a strong opponent of the abolitionists.

The only decided and thorough abolition resolution, which has been adopted by any legislative body in the Union, is that adopted by the legislature of Vermont, at its last session, in favor of such alteration of the Constitution of the United States, as would abolish slavery throughout the Union; accompanied by instructions for the support of the measure, which the whig senators in Congress from that State have entirely *disregarded*, without the pretext of any gag rule in the *Senate* to prevent them from doing their duty. The petition which produced the resolution, as I am informed, originated with a *democratic* citizen of that State, and the measure appears to have been pushed through, so far as I can discern, without the participation, and almost without the knowledge of the prominent members of the abolition societies in that State, who had been engaged in pushing half-way measures. For this resolution, the democratic, as well as the whig members of the legislature voted, with unanimity; yet the democrats of Vermont are included in the general, sweeping charge of being pro-slavery.

In Massachusetts, the abolitionists have particularly urged two measures—the repeal of the marriage law, and the prohibition of the distinction made on account of color between different travelers on railroads. They could carry neither while the whigs were in full power. Now, the marriage bill has been passed, by a great majority, in the senate, which is two to one democratic, and by a small majority in the house, which has a slight preponderance of whigs. The railroad bill was passed with the like large majority by the democratic senate, but has been rejected by the whig house; the opposition to it coming chiefly from the whig party, and among others, from *Mr. Adams, jr.* whom the abolitionists *selected* to present the Latimer petition. You have given the democrats no credit for their support of these measures, and the whigs no censure for their opposition to them. I am persuaded, that if the case had been reversed, we should have had it fully stated in the abolition newspapers, as a new proof of the propriety of giving abolition votes to the whigs, and of the base inconsistency of the democratic party, as well as of its utter devotion to the interests of slavery.

Having, I trust, shown that something has been done by democrats, both for the right of petition, and the incomparably greater right of freedom, I close for the present. E.

LETTER FROM JACOB FERRIS.

EAST HAMBURG, ERIE COUNTY,
March 1st, 1843.

The good work goes on most gloriously. We had an exceedingly interesting time at Parma, the 24th and 25th of January. The people there are principally farmers, and they manifested their interest in the cause by turning out in the midst of a snow storm, to attend our meeting. The seed evidently fell upon good ground; and will, if watered by faith, and warmed by zeal, spring up speedily, and in due time bring forth an abundant harvest. *Five active anti-slavery ministers*, who reside in the neighborhood, were present, and participated in our discussions. I have not known another similar circumstance, in all my labors for the release of the captive. It speaks much for the advancement of our cause. May they be blest in their work of love, and may many others follow their example.

The following will serve to illustrate the anti-slavery feeling of that neighborhood. A poor man, by the name of Palmer, came several miles, bringing a *load of wood* for the use of the convention, and a *basket of provisions for himself* and *family*; preferring so to do, rather than be absent during any part of the discussions. The day following, he conveyed us a considerable distance toward our next appointment. Such willingness to do and suffer, is truly commendable.

The friends at Clarendon had not observed the notice in the Standard, for a convention to be held at that place, until the evening of our arrival. This was owing to the name of the county (Orleans) being printed in small type, instead of capitals, like the others. However, we had two excellent meetings there, on Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon. Clarendon will soon be a stronghold of freedom.

The convention at Pine Hill commenced its sessions at 1 o'clock, P. M. on Tuesday, the 31st of January, by calling the Rev. Mr. Burtt to the chair. At the close of the afternoon meeting, I was urgently requested to go to Oakfield, a little village about five miles distant, and lecture that evening. Our friends from that place insisted upon it, with so much earnestness, that I at last concluded to go. I jumped into their one-horse sleigh with them, and we rode that distance, with a severe storm of sleet and rain beating in our faces. Arrived there at 6 o'clock, and by half-past 7, while the storm raged terribly without, a good sized audience was comfortably seated within the Oakfield seminary, listening with deep interest to anti-slavery truth. The result of this meeting was that another was appointed the next Thursday afternoon. The house at that time was well filled. Whilst I was at Oakfield, James B. Cooper, and E. W. Capron, were lecturing in a school-house, in an adjoining town. Their efforts have a tendency to advance the cause. They have given good satisfaction, wherever they have been. Owing to my exposure to snow and rain, I took a severe cold, which affected my lungs, and compelled me, for the time, to return home, and leave the burden of several conventions on the shoulders of our friends, Capron and Cooper.

Lockport is one of the coldest places for anti-slavery, in all Western New-York. The great mass of the people are so deeply engaged in religious matters, that they have not time to listen to the cry of the poor, friendless, and perishing bondman. O, how long will it be, before men will learn that love to God is made manifest by love to man? that those who sing hymns, and make long prayers, while their conduct to their perishing brother is that of cold neglect and scorn, are "drawing nigh unto Him with their lips, while their hearts are far away!" But, notwithstanding this coldness on the part of the multitude, there are a few choice spirits there, whose constant desire is that *that* city may be cleansed of its impurities; that its inhabitants may no longer insult Him they pretend to worship, by leaving acts of mercy undone "to one of the least" of His children. Our convention there was small. Toward the close of the last session, an attempt was made to drive us into a discussion on non-resistance. We were willing to discuss that question, or any other connected with practical Christianity, *in its proper place*; but the platform of that convention was strictly anti-slavery, and therefore we refused to discuss non-resistance. The object of this attempt undoubtedly was, that partisans might have it in their power to say of us and the American Anti-Slavery Society, "You see they are non-resistants, in disguise. They oppose 'our party,' not on anti-slavery, but non-resistant ground."

At Niagara Falls, we had no meeting until evening. The "steeple houses" were closed against us, and anti-slavery was compelled to retire to the common school-house, around which freedom's children kick up their heels, and frisk about in sportive joy. We had a fine opportunity of viewing "the Falls," that great home of watery thunders arched with rainbows, whose sides were studded with pillars of ice, "rough cast" with frozen mist, which glittered, in that day's sunshine, like banks of diamonds in a summer's noon. Our meeting was tolerably well attended, and rendered quite interesting by the opposition we met with. After some remarks by M. W. Jenkins, (a friend from Marengo, now with us,) a gentleman arose and stated to the meeting "that he had anticipated we were going to unite anti-slavery and temperance together; to oppose which, was his only object in coming there; and that, when he had prevented the union of the two subjects, he should say no more." This determination to say no more, he clearly proved to the audience, by making some half dozen speeches in opposition to *anti-slavery*; taking positions so completely at variance with each other, as to cause a litter throughout the room. His remarks were as difficult to follow, as the Irishman found the spotted pig to count. Just before the meeting adjourned, we stated to the audience, that, in view of the terrible and unanswerable *arguments* of the gentleman, we confessed ourselves *completely demolished*; and the meeting broke up, in a roar of laughter.

The convention at East Hamburg closes its sessions to-day. The two meetings of the Society of Friends at this place, have shut their houses against us; and anti-slavery is again driven into a school-house, as it was at Niagara Falls. Friends here *profess to be anti-slavery*, and shut us out of their meeting-houses. The Presbyterians at Niagara Falls *profess to be pro-slavery*, and shut their house against us. How much *better* is the *anti-slavery* of East Hamburg *Friends* than the *pro-slavery* of Niagara Falls *Presbyterians*? "By their fruits ye shall know them." Perhaps they will say, "But this young Ferris is a *hireling*; and if we allow a meeting to be held in our house, in which he is engaged, we shall violate our testimony against *a hireling ministry*." Then why not use their influence to have me "turned out" of their society? I think it is as much a violation of their testimony against a hireling ministry to have me a member amongst them, or to allow me to attend their meetings, as it would be to allow an hundred persons to come into the house in the shape of an anti-slavery meeting, of which I should be one. And again, I should like to know if it was not a violation of their testimony against "hirelings," to let a *paid agent of the State*, called "a common school inspector," into their house to hold an inspection meeting, as the "Hicksites" did, only a few days after *refusing it to anti-slavery*?

The anti-slavery cause has some warm friends in this place, who are undoubtedly doing all they can to spread our principles, and act them out. The prospect here is decidedly encouraging. The people are opening their eyes to the wickedness of the slaveholding system.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1843.

THE INTERMARRIAGE LAW.

After a protracted struggle of several years, the Massachusetts legislature have, at last, repealed the law forbidding marriages between people of different complexions. This repeal has very *nearly* passed, for two or three successive sessions, but pride and prejudice have contrived to give it the go-by. It has now passed both houses of the legislature, and received the signature of Governor Morton.

This result appears terrible and inexplicable to the editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser, a man so singularly blinded by the spirit of conservatism, that he cannot easily understand any law of our nature higher than that of custom and usage. The word "*respectable*," which has so long been attached to his name, seems to express his highest idea. That which is respectable, is to him holy. If one were to remind him that the slave-trade was once respectable, even in New England, he would simply see that it was not respectable now, and therefore, not *now* to be treated respectfully.

He cannot, for his life, imagine *why* anybody wanted his marriage law repealed. He has studied the census, and finds that "colored gentlemen, of marriageable age, have doubled in Massachusetts, within ten years, by emigration;" and he thinks all this *means something*. These "emigrants" have not run away from whips, and chains, and blood-hounds, and rifles, and other agreeable accompaniments of the "peculiar institution." Oh, no, indeed! They have heard down South, there, that Massachusetts was about to repeal her intermarriage law, and so they have run away from black, brown, and yellow wives, for the chance of catching white ones, in Massachusetts! Verily, a second Daniel *has* come to judgment!

"But," says Mr. Hale, "if it is not expected that there will be some *practical result* from the passage of this repeal, why are its advocates so earnest for it? When the tariff law and the bankrupt law have been urged with a like pertinacity, it was because there were persons standing ready *to take advantage of them*. We can easily imagine why a person, acting under a similar conviction in regard to the practical utility of the measure now in question, should exert himself with a like zeal in support of it; but it is difficult to conceive of one being so philanthropic, as to throw away so much effort upon an object of mere theoretical reform."

These remarks throw light on the "inner man" of the writer, if they enlighten nothing else. They remind us of a remark made by another Boston editor to D. L. Child, soon after the formation of the N. E. Anti Slavery Society. "Come, now, Child," said he, "tell me, honestly, *what do you expect to get by it?*" This view of the case was new to D. L. C., and he rummaged round among probabilities, in vain, for an answer. He could not, of course, then foresee that the "Liberty Party" would be formed in the course of some eight or ten years, and that he might, by joining it, come in for a share of the glory of being nominated as representative to Congress.

"It is one of those curious problems," says Mr. Hale, "for which a reason is yet to be given, why there should be so much zeal for a mere theoretic reform." Here, again, the inward eode reveals itself. It reminds one of an address delivered before the merchants of New-York, in which the speaker verily thought he gave them the highest praise, by declaring, "All the world know them to be men, who never concern themselves with anything that does not relate to their *business*, their *interests*, or *themselves*."

Mr. Hale assumes the usual

lawyers, physicians and merchants; and the next thing we shall know, they will be marrying our daughters"!

An old-fashioned, uneducated, sensible farmer, knocked his argument in the head, by these brief words: "I thought you said, *jest* now, that they would n't mix no better than *ile* and water? Then, what are you afraid on?"

If Mr. Hale would sacrifice his "respectability" so far as to visit some large colored school, he would see in the brown mulatto, the yellow quadroon, and the faintly-tinged mestizo, with blue eyes and brown hair, sufficient evidence that this doctrine of "natural antipathy" does not amount to much. Should he inquire too curiously into the matter, he might, moreover, ascertain that the absence of this antipathy is by no means peculiar to the coarse and vulgar, but exists under as fine broadcloth, as any that immortalized itself in the mob "of property and standing," in 1835.

Speaking of children whose parents are of different complexions, Mr. Hale says: "It is idle to say that such children *ought* to be received into families, and into familiar and intimate intercourse, exactly as if they were of the same complexion. It is a sufficient reply, that they are not, and never will be so received."

Mr. Hale is doubtless aware that Alexander Dumas, one of the most popular French writers of the day, second only, perhaps, to Victor Hugo, is of mixed parentage; his father being a dark mulatto, though one of Bonaparte's favorite officers. The princes of France think it no insult to be invited to dine at the same table with Dumas; and he is a member of scientific and literary societies, to which many young Americans, of the first families, would find it difficult to gain access. Is not the editor of the Advertiser aware, too, that the wealthiest gentry of France, and some of her oldest nobility, have intermarried with the beautiful and accomplished quadroon daughters of French planters? Is he not aware, that the proudest families of South America sometimes form such marriages, and that the children share the highest employments and offices of the State? In the British West Indies, black men and mulattoes are lawyers, judges, and wealthy planters. It was but lately that a high office in the gift of the crown was conferred upon one of these gentlemen in Antigua; and the shocking enormity has occurred of American sailors tried by a black judge. There are many colored men in the British islands, whom Lord Morpeth, or his sister, the Duchess of Sutherland, or half the English nobility, would feel it no slight to be invited with, or to invite to their own houses.

Are we, then, less rational than the French, or more proud than the British? If not, why is it so certain that children of mixed complexions "never *will* be received as equals," in good society, whatever may be their gifts or graces?

The United States will inevitably outgrow this irrational and unjust prejudice. It cannot stand before the advancing light of the age. The once despised and hunted Jew is now admitted to the bar by the honorable society of the Middle Temple, London; and the Turkish sultan long ago forbade his subjects to call the Christians "dogs." Shall a republic be more obstinate in its pride than a monarchy? Shall the humanizing influence of the Cross be more feeble than that of the Crescent? It *will* not be so. Americans will learn at last that *their* prejudices, like those of other nations, are *unnatural*, the mere creatures of custom and circumstance; and they will be wise enough to trust that really natural laws will assuredly find their own level.

The editor of the Advertiser may rest assured, that those who have urged the repeal of this absurd law, have no self-interest whatever at stake. The colored "emigrants," from whom he seems to apprehend so much, have no dangerous designs with regard to supplying themselves with white wives; nor have the abolitionists any children of mixed complexions to place in good society. Probably not a single marriage more or less will take place on account of the repeal of the law. It is *public opinion*, and its effects on the character and condition of the colored people, which prevents intermarriages; were it otherwise, the law would be a mere rope of sand. Its repeal is one expression of a changing public opinion, and will of itself help to produce the result it prophesies. But if the time comes when there *is* no public opinion against such marriages, why then there will be no reason to dread them; and if such a time does *not* come, public opinion will be just as powerful without this old law, as with it. It is obviously one of those things which may be safely left to find its own level. Neither the colored people nor the white petitioners have wished for the repeal of this law because they think "amalgamation" desirable, either for themselves or others. They simply consider it a question with which the law has nothing to do. They maintain that every man and every woman should choose a mate according to the dictates of individual taste and conscience, unrestrained by enactments of the legislature. But the principal reason why they have urged this question is, that *the statute was a record of contempt for the colored race*, and served to perpetuate the prejudice it indicated. When Massachusetts urged upon the South the great doctrine of human equality, the South exultingly pointed to her own scornful legislation, and the justice of the retort was felt. The petitioners had no "practical results" in view. They saw that a principle of freedom was violated; and they had faith that principles might always be safely trusted. Had there been a similar law against intermarriage with Catholics or Quakers, the same class of minds would have been prone to urge its repeal, as an infringement of human freedom, and a violation of human brotherhood. Minds of the strongly conservative class naturally consider this purely "theoretic," and wonder that men can expend so much energy upon it. This is because they look upon the laws as permanent walls, beyond which no theories must flow; forgetting that theories *make* laws. Every law was originally the devise or theory of some individual mind, to check an existing evil, or promote a desired good. Laws are nothing but a daguerrotype of public opinion; and the sunshine of to-day shall impress quite a different image than that of yesterday. "Ask me not *where* is the government," says Carlyle. "In vain wilt thou go to Schönbrunn, to Downing street, to the Palais Bourbon; thou findest nothing there but brick or stone houses, and some bundles of paper, tied with tape. Where, then, *is* that same Almighty government? Everywhere, yet nowhere—a thing aeriform, invisible, or if you will, mystic and miraculous." The laws are in fact nothing but the exponent of man's present will and purpose. As *he* changes, *they* must change.

The marriage law of Massachusetts is of very old date. It was probably originally passed to prevent intermarriages with *heathen*, and therefore Indians were included in its prohibition, as well as Africans and their descendants. At that time, it was a common thing to bring cargoes of negroes into Massachusetts from the shores of Africa, and of course ignorant of the Christian faith. Since that time, it has remained on the statute book, because it was a correct exponent of the pride and prejudice of the community. Public opinion had settled it, as many thought forever, that the races proscribed by it were *inferior*, and must remain so. But public opinion is slowly unlearning this unchristian creed. Through clouds and fog the glorious truth shines brighter and brighter, that God is our common Father, and all we are brethren! This subtle, all-pervading truth demanded the repeal of the Massachusetts marriage law. Then arose the scornful cry of "Nigger! nigger!" To which the earnest, thoughtful soul answered, "What imports that strange term, that so fills the common ear with all that is hateful and ludicrous, loathsome and contemptible, risible and abhorrent,—that idea with which no man stoops to have sympathy, however degraded, despised, and forsaken—that finds no place at the fireside of hospitality, or at its generous board—none in the house of God, or the mansions of the dead—the church, or the church-yard—above ground, or under ground, and which piety hardly dreams of communicating with in the lonely world of spirits! What is it! what means this 'nigger!' Why, hidden, smothered, unacknowledged HUMANITY! The image of the eternal God enshrouded in the semblance of brutality, and made, by its *kindred*, to undergo the brute's condition and fate. That image, by the blessing of God, we unshroud, and restore its effacings."*

This spirit the Boston editors, and their kin elsewhere, can in nowise understand. They see the activity it arouses, and the results produced, and with incredulous wonder they utter the politician's query, "What *interest* have these people at stake? What do they expect to *gain* by this movement?"

* N. P. Rogers.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting will convene in the City of New-York, on TUESDAY, the Ninth day of May next.

THE ANNIVERSARY will be held in ————, services to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The business meetings of the Society will commence at 4 o'clock, P. M. of the same day, in Concert Hall, No. 406 Broadway, and will continue, by adjournments, from time to time, as usual.

The members of the Society, and its co-operating friends of freedom and justice in all parts of the country, are earnestly invited to be present on the occasion. At no period of our history, has there been greater need of wisdom in council, and vigor in action. The call is to every individual whose heart beats for the bleeding slave.

The Executive Committee have received the most gratifying assurances of a large attendance from various districts of country, some of which are quite remote. They are also informed that the scarcity of money will prevent many from attending, whose zeal in the great work is generous and prompt. Where this difficulty cannot be otherwise overcome, they would recommend collections to be made; many individuals who cannot afford to appropriate as much as will defray their own expenses, and who will therefore remain at home, can well afford to pay a smaller sum towards the aggregate charges of a liberal delegation; and there are few districts of country, but what are able to send representatives in this way.

The great and growing importance of the anti-slavery movement calls for increased energy and sacrifice on the part of those to whom Providence has assigned the trust. The light that public discussion, and the press, have shed abroad, is constantly exposing new and unexpected forms of support which are rendered to American slavery, and constantly requiring renewed zeal and labor to oppose them.

Brethren and friends, we are yet in the morning of the contest for liberty. As the day waxes hotter, and the moral fight thickens, let our courage be more bold, our industry more unwearied, and our confidence in the power of truth more steadfast.

Delegates are requested to record their names in the roll book, at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 143 Nassau street, as soon as convenient after their arrival in the city. Cards of reference to respectable boarding-houses, where the charges will be moderate, will be supplied to strangers, at the office.

By order of the Executive Committee,

J. S. GIBBONS, *Chairman.*

L. M. CHILD, *Rec. Sec'y.*

☞ Anti-slavery papers will please copy.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1843.

A case of an attempt, by a high executive officer, to exercise despotism over the will of the free people of the North, in utter disregard of their interest and convenience, has been brought to my notice. A new post-office law was passed by the Senate, the effect of which would be, and was intended to be, to bring all our newspapers and periodicals into the mails, and to raise revenue on them, whether the owners wanted the service of the post-office, in conveying this property, or not. The bill, if it had passed the House, would have unhorsed all our northern *postriders*, who, by contracting with the printers for a large quantity of papers, obtain them at such a price, that they can furnish them at the doors of the people, at the subscription price. After the bill came into the House, one of the members from Massachusetts was talking with a Virginia member, about an amendment to it. The Virginian said, that "the postmaster general wanted the *yeas* and *nays* on the bill, just as it was. He wanted to see *who* would vote against it, and then he would know *where* to cut off postoffice accommodations." "Do you mean to say that the postmaster general avows this as a principle on which he is willing to administer the department?" "No, sir; but this I say, that he will *do* it; and he ought to." This is carrying matters with a pretty high hand!

We of the North pay to the post-office something like $600,000 per annum *more* than it costs to maintain the establishment with us; while in the South they pay, if I recollect right, so much *less* than it costs to carry the mails there. Yet, to swell still further the disproportion of taxation, our newspapers and pamphlets must *all* go into the mails, to the great restraint of the press, probably to the ruin of some hundred or two of presses, and to the suppression of information for the people. But there is a further fact connected with this subject. I am told that the newspapers of the South go free of postage. They use no *cents* in their circulating medium, and therefore, as newspapers cannot by law be charged, they are permitted to go in that region *free*. I do not vouch for this; I only say that I have been informed that such is the fact. I confess that it seems to me probable enough! Moreover, it should be remembered that we of the North, who are to be "dragooned" by Wickliffe into the payment of new taxes for the support of the post-office, are deprived of the use of it over more than half of the entire republic, without and against law! The instructions given by Jackson, through Amos Kendall, sanctioning the breaking of the post-office, and burning the mails, at Charleston, South Carolina, are practically the law of the land at this moment! We cannot send, or receive by mail, any printed paper except at the discretion of every postmaster to whose hands it may come! And the man, who, in violation of the law and his oath, lent himself to do us this great wrong, is now supplicating us to come and pay a debt of some $10,000 incurred by official misconduct, and take him out of jail! the Globe at the same time affirming that he is affluent. Mr. Kendall has lately advertised that he intends to publish "Memoirs and Histories of his Times, showing how the world is governed;" illustrative, I presume, of the exclamation of the Swedish chancellor, *Nescis, mi fili, quam parva sapientia regitur mundus.* I should suppose Mr. Kendall would have much to tell on that head, from experience, as well as observation.

Mr. Adams proposed, in the committee on foreign affairs, a resolution that a commissioner, or other public accredited agent, should be immediately sent by the United States to Haiti, to prosecute the claims of our citizens upon the government of that country. The committee laid it on their table, for the alledged reason that there was no time, at the late session, to act upon it; it being then near the close. The reason the matter was so delayed was, that Mr. Adams waited for the executive communication touching these claims, to be printed. For some cause, the printing was, and still is, delayed, though ordered two months ago. I do hope the anti-slavery friends will not forget Haiti, at the next session. I can think of no anti-slavery work so much wanted as a succinct, authentic, and comprehensive account of the present condition of Haiti. If such a work were put into the hands of the members of the next Congress, showing particularly what amount and kind of commerce we might have, if a treaty of amity and commerce were concluded with them, it would do a vast deal of good. We suffer ourselves to be "outfaced by men with no face at all," as the poet hath it. A very little pains would carry this great question. I have had occasion to think a hundred times, since I came here, that if northern members, those I mean who think correctly on this subject, were half as bold for the *right*, as the slaveholders are for the *wrong*, they would soon carry all before them.

I desire to correct my statement of Mr. Adams's resolution submitted from the committee on foreign affairs, in relation to naval and military officers of the United States invading, without authority, the territory of foreign nations. It did not propose specifically to give up such officer to be punished by the injured nation; but it declared that such invasion is an aggravated offense against such nation, against the peace of the world, and against the Constitution and people of the United States; for the signal punishment of which, further provision ought to be made by law." Mr. Adams moved a suspension of the rules to receive this report, in which all the committee save one, concurred. There were *yeas* 74, *nays* 83. The northern *slave-democrats*, beginning with *Atherton*, and ending with *Weller*, those jewels of the North and West, went against it; showing, thereby, that they regarded this as substantially a slave question; otherwise, can there be a doubt that they would have heartily approved of the resolution? When this country has so recently been in a flame of resentment on account of the *Caroline*, a case where the invasion was provoked by a series of aggressions and insults from unrestrained individuals on *our* side, it is scarcely credible that there should be a single dissenting voice in regard to the affair of Monterey, which was wholly wanton and unprovoked!

The pledge given by Mr. Webster's friends in the Senate, pending Cushing's nomination, was that he would retire in *thirty* days, instead of *ten*, as was first reported. I am inclined to the opinion that Everett will go to China, and that Mr. Tyler only waits for his acceptance, to appoint Webster to London.—D. L. C.

THE PATHFINDER.

In these days, when periodicals of all sorts cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea, it is pleasant to find a newspaper which makes a decided impression of freshness, and indicates an earnest and an honest life. Such is the Pathfinder, by Parke Godwin, the son-in-law of William C. Bryant. In its aim and scope, it resembles Leggett's Plaindealer, which I have ever considered as the beau-ideal of what a newspaper *ought* to be. The editor thus explains his purpose: "The Pathfinder, as its name indicates, is not so much designed to dictate opinions, as to provoke thought and inquiry. The principles which it is intended to espouse are simple—they may be expressed in the words *Freedom* and *Progress*. But let it be understood, that by freedom, we do not mean the meagre forms of freedom, celebrated in the declamations of schoolboys, and the discourses of Fourth of July patriots. We speak of freedom in its highest sense, and in all its forms; civil, political, and religious; freedom of thought, of speech, and of action; freedom of trade, of the pulpit, and of the press; freedom, commercial and intellectual, inward and outward; freedom for white men, black men, and red men; freedom from the arbitrary restraints of despotism, whether it proceeds from the Church or the State; freedom from the imposition of authority, the tyranny of a multitude, and the pretensions of superstition. The basis of this attachment is a respect for the rights of man as they are discovered to us by the light of religion. It is one of the most direct influences of Christianity, to inspire a sentiment of love for the human race, and of abhorrence for its oppressors."

This harmonious, universal tune, which the editor promises, is, so far, played well, with but few and minor discords. A short article on the Expiring Congress, in the second number, seems to me at variance with the high and noble tone that pervades the Pathfinder. The exultation over a bewildered, and partially defeated opponent, shows too much of the sneering *partisan* spirit. Not thus are men convinced of errors, or drawn unto the truth. I do not complain that the Whig party is called "a great practical lie;" but I do complain that *both* parties are not so called. What man, who looks below the surface of things, expects to find, in the caucuses and conventions of any political party, a single drop of balm for the healing of the nations? If one party has more truth at its basis than another, it is only to show that they dare not stand upon it, because they lack faith, that standing upon truth is for the interest of their *party*. Did not Emerson speak truly, when he said, "When men meet together to advance any of the universal interests of their race, or discuss any great question of human progress, can party politics be so much as *mentioned* among them?" May Mr. Godwin never forget the last part of his excellent motto: "*S'il est fasciné par l'esprit de parti, il ne devient que l'organe des erreurs.*"

The literary character of the Pathfinder is of a high order. The notices of Richter's Biography, of Bulwer's last novel, and of R. W. Emerson's recent lectures in this city, are not only admirably written, but give evidence of a soul that perceives whereof it affirms. I rejoiced to see the hearty commendation of Mary Howitt's excellent translation, of that most refreshing book, The Neighbors. Disease is contagious, and health is not; otherwise, I should hope this Swedish fountain of pure water, would do more to regenerate our light literature, than the reckless, sarcastic spirit of Bulwer, or the vulgar wit of Marryat, have done to corrupt it. "The Neighbors," is, indeed, as the Pathfinder describes it, "a dear, heart-healing book. A book to be thankful for; visiting the cloyed mind like the breath of a pure spring morning, and exhilerating one with a sense of renewed and bounteous life. It is a picture, glowing with the freshness of nature; such a picture as is painted only by one who has the key of her own nature's significance in heart, and is too reverential, therefore, to interfere in the least with its development. When will *our* men and women learn this reverence for truth? When shall we be content only to take what nature spontaneously teaches, and to desist from *making* it the echo of our prejudices and conceit? In every fact, which *is* a fact, and not a mere fiction of man's perverse will, may be traced gleams of a wisdom and a love altogether divine. When we have caught the *spirit*, which presides over the world, and is busy shaping all its transient evil into good, then shall we deal in tenderest reverence with all its facts."

The Arts, Science, Agriculture, and General Information, are treated, in the Pathfinder, in a manner indicating the same good taste, and largeness of vision. It is published weekly, in numbers, of 16 pages each. $3 per annum, six cents single copy.

SEPARATION IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Well informed Friends are already aware that the pro-slavery portion of the two Yearly Meetings of Indiana (including both branches of the Society) have seemed to vie with each other which should be most intolerant toward their abolition brethren. This course of conduct is rapidly producing its appropriate results. Those whose consciences were not at rest concerning the position of their Yearly Meeting, [of the branch called Orthodox,] in relation to slavery, and who felt in no degree flattered by Henry Clay's encomiums, held a meeting on the sixth of second month, [February,] to organize a separate Yearly Meeting. Though the weather was extremely inclement, a multitude attended, and great interest was manifested. The meeting, which is said to have been as large as the last Yearly Meeting of North Carolina, drew up an "Address to Anti-Slavery Friends within the limits of Indiana Yearly Meeting," signed by Walter Edgerton, and Rachel P. Green, "in behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, held at Newport, Wayne county." They likewise addressed epistles to all the Yearly meetings in the United States, and in Europe, with which that portion of the Society have heretofore corresponded. They then proceeded to appoint a meeting for sufferings, and a committee of men and women to attend to affairs connected with the welfare of the colored people.

The lines of this separation seem to be deeply drawn, and widely spread. With the exception of two Friends, who spoke with submission, the whole of this large meeting were perfectly united concerning the necessity of re-organization. The reasons are thus expressed: "It was evident we could no longer enjoy our religious privileges in the Society of which we are members, except at the expense of our principles; and we had no other alternative but to forego those principles altogether, and lose all the benefits of religious society, or to form ourselves into an associated body, upon the genuine principles of Friends. We have chosen the latter; and relying upon the justness of our cause, the rectitude of our intentions, and the protecting care of the God of the oppressed, we commit ourselves and our cause to His holy keeping."

Next week we shall endeavor to publish in full the proceedings of this interesting meeting, and the documents they put forth.

GENERAL JACKSON'S FINE.

It is curious to observe how the slaveholders step on a spring-gun, let them move in what direction they will.

Major Butler, M. C. from Kentucky, lately made a speech in justification of General Jackson's proclaiming martial law in New Orleans. One of the principal reasons he urged, was "the insufficiency of troops to defend the country without the most rigid enforcement of military law, against a foreign foe, and the slave population of Louisiana. He said it was well known that the citizens of Louisiana, who would otherwise have resorted to New Orleans, to defend the city, *were prevented from leaving home from well grounded apprehensions that the slave population would instantly rise and join the invading army!*"

He perceived, probably, that some fanatic might make use of this admission, to prove that slaveholding was not the best condition for an invaded nation; inasmuch as the non-workers in time of peace, were compelled to stay at home in time of war, to keep the "contented and happy working population" from rising into cut-throat insurrection against their "beloved masters." He therefore began to back out a little, by saying that "*other* slave States had not such a disaffected population as Louisiana had." The slaves of Kentucky, for instance, were noble fellows; and "he would sooner entrust the defense of the Union to the slaves of Kentucky, than to their *canting, whining sympathizers at the North!*"

The Kentuckians, in time of war, would probably rather trust the slaves of Virginia than her own; and Virginia would rather trust those of Missouri; and so each would stay at home to take care of *their* "disaffected population," and leave the Free States to defend the country.

MORE BLESSINGS OF THE UNION!

There is in Philadelphia a celebrated colored band, known as Frank Johnson's band. They are as much distinguished by gentlemanly propriety of manner, as by their musical skill. They made a professional tour to the West, this winter, and at St. Louis they were arrested, to answer for a violation of Missouri State, and St. Louis city laws, which forbid a free colored man remaining in the State without license. They were each—twelve of them—fined $10, and ordered to depart from the State. From this sentence they appealed, and it is creditable to the citizens of St. Louis, that some of the first gentlemen of that city became their security. Their concerts have been overflowingly attended.

Where is the free spirit of Pennsylvania, that she utters no protest to Missouri for this treatment of her citizens? Is it not guarantied to us that the citizens of one State shall have all the rights and immunities of citizens of the other States? Yet what avails this security either to abolitionists or to colored citizens? Can they travel in other States, though guiltless of crime, without perpetual danger and annoyance? Truly, the North does hold up "the heavy end of the Constitution."

COLONIZATION.

We are glad to see that the recent efforts of this Society in Rhode Island, have aroused the friends of emancipation. Hand-bills have been published, and extensively circulated, warning the people against this deceptive scheme, and condemning its advocates out of their own mouths. The hand-bills thus earnestly utters its protest:

"Are we ministers at the altar? let us, then, see to it, that our efforts and influence are not enlisted upon the side of the oppressor—that we do not give countenance to those who thirst for the blood of souls—that we do not increase the oppressions of the poor, rivet the chains of the slave, and "bolt hard the captive's door." All this African colonization will do. It becomes us at once to forswear it.

Friends, one and all, ponder well these things. The *slave* is calling for help. He repudiates, when left to his own free will and choice, the scheme here exposed. As an *American* citizen at our hands he demands redress and assistance. We cannot withhold them and be guiltless."

LETTERS FROM NEW-YORK—No. 53.

A book has been lately published, called the Westover Manuscripts, written more than a hundred years ago, by Col. William Byrd, an old Virginian cavalier, residing at Westover, on the north bank of James river. He relates the following remarkable circumstance, which powerfully arrested my attention, and set in motion thoughts that flew beyond the stars, and so I lost sight of them, till they again come within my vision, in yonder world, where, as the German beautifully expresses it, "we shall find our dreams, and only lose our sleep." The writer says:

"Of all the effects of lightning that ever I heard of, the most amazing happened in this country, in the year 1736. In the summer of that year, a surgeon of a ship, whose name was Davis, came ashore at York, to visit a patient. He was no sooner got into the house, but it began to rain, with many terrible claps of thunder. When it was almost dark, there came a dreadful flash of lightning, which struck the surgeon dead, as he was walking about the room, but hurt no other person, though several were near him. At the same time, it made a large hole in the trunk of a pine tree, which grew about ten feet from the window. But what was most surprising in this disaster was, that *on the breast of the unfortunate man that was killed, was the figure of a pine tree, as exactly delineated as any limner in the world could draw it; nay, the resemblance went so far as to represent the color of the pine, as well as the figure.* The lightning must probably have passed through the tree first, before it struck the man, and by that means have printed the icon of it on his breast. But whatever may have been the cause, the effect was certain, and can be attested by a cloud of witnesses, who had the curiosity to go and see this wonderful phenomenon."

This lightning daguerrotype aroused within me the old inquiry, "What is electricity? Of what spiritual essence is it the form and type?" Questions that again and again have led my soul in such eager chace through the universe, to find an answer, that it has come back weary, as if it had carried heavy weights, and traversed Saturn's rings, in magnetic sleep. Thick clouds come between me and this mystery, into which I have searched for years; but I see burning lines of light along the edges, which significantly indicate the glory it veils.

Sometimes I think electricity is the medium which puts man into relation with all things, enabling him to act on all, and receive from all. It is now well established as a scientific fact, though long regarded as an idle superstition, that some men can ascertain the vicinity of water, under the ground, by means of a divining rod. Thouvenel, and other scientific men in France, account for it by supposing that "the water forms with the earth above it, and the fluids of the human body, a *galvanic circle.*" The human body is said to be one of the best conductors yet discovered, and weakly or debilitated persons to be better conductors than those in sound health. If the body of the operator be a very good conductor, the rod in his hand will be forcibly drawn toward the earth, whenever he approaches a vein of water, that lies near the surface. If silk gloves or stockings are worn, the attraction is interrupted; and it varies in degree, according as any substances between the water and the hand of the operator are more or less good conductors of the galvanic fluid.

Everybody knows what a frightful imitation of life can be produced in a dead body by the galvanic battery; and it was but lately that the French chemists told us of trying experiments with a dead cat, whose brains being taken out, and the place filled with the galvanic fluid, she arose and staggered about the room, for a few minutes.

The animal magnetizer often feels as if strength had gone out of him; and it is very common for the person in magnetic sleep to speak of bright emanations from the fingers which are making passes over him.

What *is* this invisible, all-pervading essence, which thus has power to put man into communication with all? That man contains the universe within himself, philosophers conjectured ages ago; and therefore named him "the microcosm." If man led a true life, he would, doubtless, come into harmonious relation with all the forms of being, which flow into his being as a common centre, and thus his instincts would be universal, and far more certain and perfect, than those of animals. The bird knows what plant will cure the bite of a serpent; and if man led a life as true to the laws of *his* being, as the bird does to *hers*, he would have no occasion to study medicine, for, he would at once perceive the medicinal quality of every herb and mineral. His *inventions*, are, in fact, only *discoveries*; for all existed, before he applied it, and called it his own. The upholsterer-bee had a perfect cutting instrument, ages before scissors were invented; the mason-bee cemented pebbles together, for his dwelling, centuries before houses were built with stone and mortar; the hornet, of South America, made her nest of beautiful white card paper, cycles before paper was invented; and the lightning knew how to print images, æons before Monsieur Daguerre found out half the process; viz: the *form* without the *color*. Man *can* invent things, because they already *are*, and because he stands in intimate relation to all; but he might do it by intuition, instead of groping for it by study.

There is a spiritual medium, too, which brings us into harmonious relation with all things of spirit, as well as matter; but we attain to this only by reverent obedience to the inward voice. Wonderful stories were told of early Friends, how they were guided by a sudden and powerful impulse, to avoid some particular bridge, or leave some particular house, and subsequent events showed that danger was there. Many people consider this fanaticism; but I have faith in it. I believe the most remarkable of these accounts, give but a faint idea of the perfection to which man's moral and physical instinct might attain, if his life were obedient and true.—L. M. C.

CASSANDRA SOUTHWICK.

On the last page, we copy an admirable ballad, by J. G. Whittier, bearing this title. It is founded on a historical fact, mentioned some months ago in the Standard. One of the sea-captains, in order to avoid carrying the guileless prisoners into slavery, pretended he was afraid their Quakerism would infect the whole ship's crew. "Oh no," replied the sheriff, "they are very harmless, innocent creatures." "Would you, then, make *slaves* of such harmless ones?" rejoined the captain. The people were *then* in advance of the Church, it seems.

We know of no periodical which contains a greater proportion of able and interesting articles, both in prose and verse, than the Democratic Review.

THE SLEEP-WAKER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF HEINRICH ZSCHOKKE.

This is the title of a little book lately translated and published in Boston. It is founded on the mysterious phenomena of animal magnetism. In her state of clairvoyance, or "transfiguration," as it is there called, the heroine is a totally distinct being from her usual self, governed by different emotions, and leading altogether a higher and truer life. The story is sufficiently exciting to chain the attention of mere story readers, while the clairvoyant revelations give glimpses of the mysterious relation between soul and body, which cannot be otherwise than deeply interesting to earnest and thoughtful minds.

☞ The Edinburgh Review for the first quarter of the present year is unusually attractive. It is a long time since we have met a number containing such a large proportion of able and interesting articles. The first paper contains much curious information concerning successive improvements in Daguerrotype, and other modes of drawing by the agency of light; and the last is quite an entertaining review of the Dairy and Letters of Madame D'Arblay. Both the Edinburgh and the Westminster notice Dickens' Notes in a manner likely to be very acceptable to Americans, though courteous and respectful toward the author.

☞ CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW-YORK.—By request of Jacob Ferris, James B. Cooper, and E. W. Capron, we state that unforeseen circumstances compel them to *recall* the three last meetings, mentioned in the notice of ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE IN WESTERN NEW-YORK. We have therefore stricken out the following from the list of meetings:

Wyoming, Friday and Saturday, 17th and 18th.
Castile, Tuesday and Wednesday, 21st and 22d.
Lima, (Livingston county,) Friday and Saturday, 24th and 25th.

OMISSIONS.—The Memorial of Baltimore Friends has been crowded out from week to week, by the pressure of public Speeches, Reports and Documents, which always abound at the close of the national and State legislatures. *The Convention at Little Falls, Herkimer County,* has been crowded out from the same cause. It shall appear soon.

TO FARMERS.—Please read the extract from Henry Colman's Address, on the last page. If it leads you to plant a rose-bush by your door, or a tree by the wayside, it will render you so far a public benefactor.

Anti-Slavery Items.

GEORGE LATIMER.—The Select Committee appointed by the legislature of Virginia, to examine into the Latimer case, have made an elaborate report, concluding with the following remarks and resolutions:

"In conclusion, your committee desire to express the conviction, that longer delay to urge this subject seriously upon the attention of the entire Union, is unbecoming. 'Tis true, that a horrid influence has bewildered the imaginations of vast numbers of citizens of other States, ascended the pulpits, instilled venom into the gentle hearts of tender childhood, lured female indiscretion into its service, warped the uninformed minds from their due allegiance to the federal Constitution—has stalked into the halls of legislation, enacted laws, been courted by partisans in politics, and seems bent upon a crusade against the southern States. 'Tis certainly no less true, that the inevitable result of these pregnant causes must be the dissolution of the Union, unless the growing evil be speedily arrested. Is it too late already? We fondly trust not. We have seen with pleasure that through the entire of the proceedings which occasion this report, the judiciary of the State of Massachusetts has not been insensible to its duties—that the judges of the State so distinguished in her efforts to gain the independence of this nation—so earnest in her desire to found the federal Constitution, have borne in mind that that Constitution is the paramount law of the land;—that the federal judge has added another to the former proofs of his reverence for the Constitution.

Your committee trusts that discreet men will see the inevitable tendency of the conduct of the less considerate, by whom they are surrounded, and may check, and give a different direction, to growing popular sentiment in other States. The passage of the requisite enactments would itself go far, very far, not merely to assure us what is the actual state of opinion elsewhere, but would tend materially to correct it, where distempered. If they are not passed, the commonwealth of Virginia, the entire southern States, will understand distinctly the state of their relations. What must follow, your committee deems it needless to suggest. This proud commonwealth will have special care to protect her citizens under all circumstances.

Your committee respectfully submits the following joint resolutions, for the adoption of the House:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the legislature of Virginia, the rights of the good people of Virginia imperatively require that Congress should pass such enactments, in addition to those already passed, as will enable her peaceful citizens to bring to their native State, if they please, their fugitive slaves found by them in other States of this Union—and that the sense of the legislature is, that the enactments proposed in this report, are the most feasible mode of effecting the purpose, and therefore the people of Virginia have a right to expect that such will be passed.

Resolved, That the governor of this commonwealth be requested to forward copies of this report and resolutions, together with all documents pertaining to this case, heretofore ordered to be printed, to each representative of Virginia, in the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each of the senators of Virginia, to be laid before Congress, and to the governors, to be laid before the legislatures of their respective States."

If Virginia is curious to know "the actual state of opinion elsewhere," as implied in the above remarks, she can form a shrewd conjecture from the report of the Massachusetts legislature, on our first page. The "proud commonwealth" may rest assured, that the cunningest conjuror in the land cannot so read backward the spell, as to lay the mighty spirit that is raised.

"They are an inferior race; God made them for Slaves; they are a connecting Link between Man and Monkey."

In proof of the above oft-repeated assertions, take the following account of

A SELF-TAUGHT SLAVE!—At a meeting of the synod of Alabama, on the third week in January last, contributions were called for to purchase a colored man, a slave, of extraordinary character. It was stated that he was a good classical scholar, and wholly self-taught. He is a blacksmith; and it was stated on the floor of the synod, by members and others, who knew him, that he first learned the letters of the alphabet, by inducing his master's children and others, to make the letters, one at a time, on the door of the shop. In this way he familiarized himself with the letters, and their names. He then learned to put them together and make words, and soon was able to read. He then commenced the study of arithmetic, and then English grammar and geography.

It was also stated, that he is now able to read the Greek Testament with ease, has some knowledge of the Latin language, and even commenced the study of the Hebrew language, but relinquished it, in consequence of not having suitable books. It was stated that he studied at night till eleven or twelve o'clock, and that in conversing with him, they felt themselves in the presence of their equal. He is between thirty and thirty-five years of age, and is willing to go out as a missionary to Africa, under the assembly's board.

CATCH THE MINISTER.—$250 for any one who will catch a *Methodist preacher*, going on the Lord's errand, instead of Ruth Ridgley's!—*Herald of Freedom.*

"$250 *Reward.*—Ran away from the subscriber, living near Jefferson, in Frederick county, Maryland, a negro man, who calls himself Lloyd Smothers, of about 22 years of age; he is about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high; of a yellow complexion; and has a down, sly look, a round face, and short nose. When spoken to, he generally smiles before replying, and speaks smoothly. He had on, when he left, a blue coat; white hat, with a black scarf on it; and a pair of blue pants; and took no clothing with him, except what he had on, that is known. *He belongs to a Methodist church*, and *pretends to be a preacher.* He took the western stage on the 20th of November, from the other side of Middleton, and was seen afterwards in Hagerstown; he has a brother-in-law living near Harrisburg, named Ben Russell.

The above reward will be given if taken out of the State, and secured so that I can get him; or $150, if taken within the State. J. RIDGELY, near Jefferson, December 17." acting for RUTH RIDGELY.

Died.

Of croup, after an illness of forty-eight hours, on First-day evening, the 26th of second month last, HENRY C. WRIGHT, aged about five months, son of Charles and Mary Wright, of Concord, Belmont county, Ohio.

"Sweet bud of being!—for a moment given,
To show how pure, young spirits are in Heaven,
Then snatched in love from all the woes of earth;
Not dead, but wakened to a nobler birth;
Called from the thorny maze by others trod,
Home to the bosom of the infant's God!
Called early, ere the ruthless hand of Time
Had dimmed thy spirit with a shade of crime;
Cannot thy memory even now impart
Sweet consolation to the bleeding heart?
Cannot thine infant spirit from above
Say to the mourner, 'God afflicts in love!'
Happy thy lot, dear child! escaped from all
That shrouds the spirit like a gloomy pall;
Thy pangs are over—rest thee, pure one! rest;
We would not call thee back, since thou art blest."

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 3d mo. (March) 11th, 1843.

Received for the Standard.—The following persons have each paid $2: Allen Smith, West Farmington, N. Y.; Mrs. P. Ward, Concord, Mass.; Robert Haydock, New-York city.

Wilford Hall, Bainbridge, Chenango county, N. Y. $1; Rev. Joseph Allen, Northboro, Mass. $3; G. L. Crane, Adrian, Michigan, $5; Aaron Foster, Dryden, Tompkins county, N. Y. $1; D. Merritt, Salem, Mass. 75 cents; Joseph Fessenden, Westminster, Mass. $1; John J. Williams, Mt. Union, Ohio, $10; M. Annis, Cortland Village, N. Y. $1.

Donations.—Lewis Houpt, Newville, Herkimer county, N. Y. $1; Henry Houpt, do. do. do. $1; collections, do. do. do. $2 33. ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treas'r.*

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

The Earthquake.—The last accounts confirm the dreadful tidings from the West Indies. All the buildings in Point Petre, Gaudaloupe, were thrown down by the shock. Immediately upon its occurrence, about two thousand of the inhabitants rushed from their dwellings into the public square, which they had scarcely reached, when the earth opened beneath their feet, and swallowed the whole mass! It was supposed that full seven thousand people were destroyed, altogether, in various ways. Directly after the earthquake, a fire broke out among the ruins, which burnt five days, and completed the work of destruction.

In Antigua, a high hill was thrown into the sea, by the shock, filling up the harbor. A British steamer off the island, felt the shock so severely as to retard her progress. The hills appeared to be in motion on the shore, and one island disappeared.

The Comet.—This visiter excites great discussion.—For the past week, it has been seen in New-York, and various parts of New England. It looks pale, here; more like a long transparent cloud, or hairy rays of light, than a fiery comet. Some say it is not a comet, but the phenomenon called zodiacal light, which is sometimes seen after twilight, near the sun, in the shape of an inverted cone. About 7 o'clock, or a little after, is the best time to see it.

Millerism.—The dead body of Mrs. Luther, of Somerset, Mass., was carried through this city, last week, for burial. Mrs. Luther was made a raving maniac by the preaching of Millerism, and was carried from Somerset about ten days ago, to the insane hospital at Worcester, where she died in the most awful paroxysms. She has left a worthy husband and nine children to deplore her melancholy

From the Democratic Review.

THE BALLAD OF CASSANDRA SOUTHWICK.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The ballad has its foundation upon a somewhat remarkable event in the history of Puritan intolerance. Two young persons, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, of Salem, who had been himself imprisoned, and deprived of all his property, for having entertained two Quakers at his house, were fined £10 each for non-attendance at the church—which they were unable to pay. The case being represented to the general court at Boston, that body, in obedience to the suggestions of its ghostly advisers, and conscience-keepers, issued an order, which may still be seen on the court records, bearing the signature of Edward Rawson, secretary, by which the treasurer of the county was "fully empowered to *sell* the said persons to any of the English nation at *Virginia* or *Barbadoes*, to answer said fines." An attempt was made to carry this barbarous order into execution, but no shipmaster was found willing to convey them to the West Indies.—[*Vide* Sewall's History, pp. 205-6. G. Bishop.

To the God of all sure mercies let my blessings rise to-day!
From the scoffer and the cruel he hath plucked the spoil away,—
Yea, He who cooled the furnace around the faithful three,
And tamed the Chaldean lions, hath set his handmaid free!

Last night I saw the sunset melt through my prison-bars;
Last night across my damp earth-floor fell the pale gleam of stars;
In the coldness and the darkness, all through the long night time,
My grated casement whitened with Autumn's early rime.

Alone, in that dark sorrow, hour after hour crept by;
Star after star looked palely in and sank adown the sky;
No sound amid night's stillness, save that which seemed to be
The dull and heavy beating of the pulses of the sea.

All night I sat unsleeping; for I knew that on the morrow,
The ruler and the cruel priest would mock me in my sorrow;
Dragged to their place of market, and bargained for and sold,
Like a lamb before the shambles, like a heifer from the fold!

Oh, the weakness of the flesh was there—the shrinking and the shame;
And the low voice of the Tempter like whispers to me came:
"Why sit'st thou thus forlornly!" the wicked murmur said,
"Damp walls thy bower of beauty, cold earth thy maiden bed?

"Where be the smiling faces, and voices soft and sweet,
Seen in thy father's dwelling, heard in the pleasant street?
Where be the youthful glances, which all the Sabbath through
Turned tenderly and timidly unto thy father's pew?

"Why sit'st thou here, Cassandra?—Bethink thee with what mirth
Thy happy schoolmates gather round the warm bright hearth;
How the crimson shadows tremble, on foreheads white and fair,
On brows of merry girlhood, half hid in golden hair.

"Not for *thee* the hearth-fire brightens; not for *thee* kind words are spoken;
Not for *thee* the nuts of Wenham woods by laughing boys are broken;
No first-fruits of the orchard within *thy* lap are laid;
For *thee* no flowers of Autumn the youthful hunters braid.

"O! weak, deluded maiden!—by crazy fancies led,
With wild and raving railers an evil path to tread;
To leave a wholesome worship, and teaching pure and sound,
And mate with maniac women, loose-haired and sack-cloth-bound;

"Mad scoffers of the priesthood, who mock at things divine,
Who rail against the pulpit, and holy bread and wine;
Sore from their cart-tail scourgings, and from the pillory lame;
Rejoicing in their wretchedness, and glorying in their shame.

"And what a fate awaits thee?—a sadly toiling slave,
Dragging the slowly lengthening chain of bondage to the grave!
Think of thy woman's nature, subdued in hopeless thrall,
The easy prey of any, the scoff and scorn of all!"

Oh! ever as the Tempter spoke, and feeble Nature's fears
Wrung, drop by drop, the scalding flow of unavailing tears,
I wrestled down the evil thoughts, and strove in silent prayer,
To feel, oh Helper of the weak!—that Thou indeed wert there!

I thought of Paul and Silas, within Philippi's cell,
And how from Peter's sleeping limbs the prison shackles fell,
Till I seemed to hear the trailing of an angel's robe of white,
And to feel a blessed presence invisible to sight.

Bless the Lord for all his mercies!—for the peace and love I felt,
Like dew of Hermon's holy hill, upon my spirit melt;
When "Get behind me Satan!" was the language of my heart,
And I felt the Evil Tempter with all his doubts depart.

Slow broke the grey cold morning; again the sunshine, fell,
Flecked with the shade of bar and grate, within my lonely cell;
The hoar-frost melted on the wall, and upward from the street,
Came careless laugh and idle word, and tread of passing feet.

At length the heavy bolts fell back, my door was open cast,
And slowly at the sheriff's side up the long street I passed.
I heard the murmur round me, and felt, but dared not see,
How from every door and window the people gazed on me.

And doubt and fear fell on me; shame burned upon my cheek;
Swam earth and sky around me, my trembling limbs grew weak;
"Oh Lord, support thy handmaid, and from her soul cast out
The fear of man which brings a snare, the weakness and the doubt."

Then the dreary shadows scattered like a cloud in morning breeze,
And a low deep voice within me seemed whispering words like these:
"Though thy earth be as the iron, and thy heaven a brazen wall,
Trust still his loving kindness whose power is over all."

We paused at length, where at my feet the sun-lit waters broke
On glaring reach of shining beach, and shingly wall of rock;
The merchant ships lay idly there, in hard clear lines on high,
Tracing with rope and slender spar, their net-work on the sky.

And there were ancient citizens, cloak-wrapped and grave and cold;
And grim and stout sea-captains, with faces bronzed and old;
And on his horse, with Rawson, his cruel clerk, at hand,
Sat dark and haughty Endicott, the ruler of the land.

And poisoning with his evil words the ruler's ready ear,
The priest leaned o'er his saddle, with laugh, and scoff, and jeer;
It stirred my soul, and from my lips the seal of silence broke,
As if through woman's weakness a warning spirit spoke.

I cried "The Lord rebuke thee, thou smiter of the meek,
Thou robber of the righteous, thou trampler of the weak!
Go light the dark, cold hearth-stones—go turn the prison lock
Of the poor hearts thou hast hunted, thou wolf amid the flock!"

Dark lowered the brows of Endicott; and with a deeper red
O'er Rawson's wine-empurpled cheek the flush of anger spread.
"Good people," quoth the white-lipped priest, "heed not her words so wild;
Her Master speaks within her—the Devil owns his child."

But grey heads shook, and young brows knit, the while the sheriff read
That law the wicked rulers against the poor have made,
Who to their house of Rimmon and idol priesthood bring
No bended knee of worship, nor gainful offering.

Then to the stout sea-captains the sheriff turning said:
"Which of ye, worthy gentlemen, will take this Quaker maid?
In the isle of far Barbadoes, or on Virginia's shore,
Ye may hold her at higher price than Indian girl or Moor."

Grim and silent stood the captains; and when again he cried,
"Speak out, my worthy gentlemen!"—nor voice nor sign replied;
But I felt a hard hand press my own, and kind words met my ear;
"God bless thee, and preserve thee, my gentle girl and dear!"

A weight seemed lifted from my heart,—a pitying friend was nigh;
I felt it in his hard, rough hand, and saw it in his eye;
And when again the sheriff spoke, that voice, so kind to me,
Growled back its stormy answer, like the roaring of the sea:

"Pile my ships with bars of silver—pack with coins of Spanish gold,
From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the roomage of her hold;
By the living God, who made me!—I would sooner in your bay
Sink ship, and crew, and cargo, than bear this child away!"

"Well answered, worthy captain; shame on their cruel laws!"
Ran through the crowd in murmurs loud the people's just applause:
"Like the herdsman of Tekoa, in Israel of old,
Shall we see the poor and righteous again for silver sold?"

I looked on haughty Endicott; with weapon half-way drawn,
Swept round the throng his lion-glare of bitter hate and scorn;
Fiercely he drew his bridle-rein, and turned in silence back,
And sneering priest, and baffled clerk, rode murmuring in his track.

Hard after them the sheriff looked, in bitterness of soul;
Thrice smote his staff upon the ground and crushed his parchment roll;
"Good friends," he said, "since both have fled, the ruler and the priest,
Judge ye if from their farther work I be not well released."

Loud was the cheer which full and clear swept round the silent bay,
As with kind words and kinder looks he bade me go my way;
For He who turns the courses of the streamlet of the glen,
And the river of great waters, had turned the hearts of men.

Oh, at that hour the very earth seemed changed beneath my eyes;
A holier wonder round me rose the blue walls of the sky;
A lovelier light on rock and hill, and stream and woodland lay;
And softer lapsed on sunnier sands the waters of the bay.

Thanksgiving to the Lord of life!—to Him all praises be,
Who from the hands of evil men hath set his handmaid free!
All praise to him before whose power the mighty are afraid,
Who takes the crafty in the snare which for the poor is laid!

Sing, oh, my soul, rejoicingly; on evening's twilight calm,
Uplift the loud thanksgiving—pour forth the grateful psalm;
Let all dear saints with me rejoice, as did the saints of old
When of the Lord's good angel the rescued Peter told.

And weep and howl, ye evil priests and mighty men of wrong!
The Lord shall smite their pride and break the jaw-teeth of the strong.
Wo to the wicked rulers in His avenging hour!
Wo to the wolves who seek the flock to raven and devour!

But let the humble ones arise,—the poor in heart be glad;
And let the mourning ones again with robes of praise be clad;
For He who cooled the furnace, and smoothed the stormy wave,
And tamed the Chaldean lions, is mighty still to save!

Miscellany.

THE FORTUNES OF A COUNTRY GIRL.

HISTORICALLY TRUE.

It was many years ago, that a young woman stepped from a country wagon that had just arrived at the gate of the famous Chelsea inn, the Goat and Compasses; a name formed by corrupting the pious original, "God encompasseth us." The young woman appeared about the age of eighteen, and was decently dressed, though in the plainest rustic fashion of the times. She was well formed, and well looking; both form and look giving indications of the ruddy health consequent upon exposure to sun and air in the country. After stepping from the wagon, which the driver immediately led into the court-yard, the girl stood for a moment in apparent uncertainty whither to go; when the mistress of the inn, who had come to the door, observed her hesitation, and asked her to enter, and take rest. The young woman readily obeyed the invitation, and soon, by the kindness of the landlady, found herself in the nicely garded parlor, and wherewithal to refresh herself, after a long and tedious journey.

"And so, my young girl," said the landlady, after having heard, in return for her kindness, the whole particulars of the young woman's situation and history, "so thou hast come all this way to seek service, and hast no friend but John Hodge, the wagoner? Truly, he is like to give thee small help, wench, toward getting a place."

"Is service, then, difficult to be had?" asked the young woman, sadly.

"Ah, marry, good situations, at least, are hard to find. But have a good heart, child," said the landlady; and as she continued, she looked around her with an air of pride and dignity: "thou seest what I have come to, myself; and I left the country a young thing just like thyself, with as little to look to. But 'tisn't every one, for certain, that must look for such a fortune. It must be wrought for. I showed myself a servant, before my poor old Jacob (heaven rest his soul!) made me mistress over the Goat and Compasses. So mind thee, gal——"

The landlady's speech might have gone on a long way, (for the dame loved well the sound of her own tongue,) but for the interruption occasioned by the entrance of a gentleman, whom the landlady rose, and welcomed heartily.

"Ha! dame," said the new comer, who was a stout, respectably-attired person, of middle age; "how sells the good old ale? Scarcely a drop left in the cellar, I hope."

"Enough left to give your worship a draught, after your long walk;" and she rose to fulfill the promise implied in her words.

"I did not walk," said the gentleman; "I took a pair of oars down the river. Thou knowest I always come to Chelsea myself, to see if thou lackest anything."

"Ah, sir," replied the landlady, "and it is by this way of doing business, that you have made yourself, as all the city says, the richest man in the brewer's corporation, if not in all London itself."

"Well, dame, the better for me if it is so," said the brewer, with a smile; "but let us have the mug, and this pretty friend of thine shall please us by tasting with us."

The landlady was not long in producing a stoup of ale, knowing that her visiter never set an example hurtful to his own interests, by countenancing the consumption of foreign spirits.

"Right, hostess," said the brewer, when he had tasted it; "well made and well kept; and that is giving both me and thee our due." "Now, pretty one," said he, filling one of the glasses which had been placed beside the stoup, "wilt thou drink this to thy sweetheart's health?"

The poor country girl, to whom this was addressed, declined the proffered civility, with a blush; but the landlady exclaimed, "Come, silly wench, drink his worship's health; he is more likely to get thee service, if it so pleased him, than John Hodge, the wagoner."

"This girl has come many a mile," continued she, "to seek a place in town, that she may burden her family no more at home."

"To seek service!" exclaimed the brewer; "why, perhaps it is well met with us. Has she brought a character with her? can you speak for her, dame?"

"She has never been from home, sir; but her face is her character," said the kind-hearted landlady. "I warrant she will be a diligent and trusty one."

"Upon thy prophecy, hostess, will I take her into my service; for but yesterday was my housekeeper complaining for the want of help, since this deputyship brought me more into the way of entertaining people of the ward."

Ere the wealthy brewer and deputy had left the Goat and Compasses, arrangements were made for sending the country girl to his house in the city, on the following day. Proud of having done a good action, the garrulous hostess took advantage of the circumstance to deliver an immensely long harangue to the young lady, on her new duties, and on the dangers to which youth is exposed in large cities. The girl heard her benefactress with modest thankfulness; but a more minute eye might have seen in the countenance of the girl a quiet firmness of expression, such as might have induced a cutting short of the lecture. However, the landlady's lecture did end; and toward evening of the day following her arrival at the Goat and Compasses, the youthful rustic found herself installed as housemaid, in the dwelling of the rich brewer.

The fortunes of this girl, it is our purpose to follow. The first change in her condition which took place subsequent to that related, was her elevation to the vacated post of housekeeper in the brewer's family. In this situation, she was brought more than formerly in contact with her master, who found ample means for admiring the propriety of her conduct, as well as her skillful economy of management. By degrees, he began to find her presence necessary to his happiness; and being a man both of honorable and independent mind, he at length offered his hand. It was accepted; and she who but four or five years before, left her country home bare-footed, became the wife of one of the richest citizens in London.

For many years, Mr. Aylesbury (for such was the name of the brewer) and his wife lived in happiness and comfort together. He was a man of good family and connexions, and consequently of higher breeding than his wife could boast of; but on no occasion had he ever to blush for the partner whom he had chosen. Her calm, inborn strength of character, conjoined with an extreme quickness of perception, made her fill her place at her husband's table with as much grace and credit, as if she had been born to the station. And as time ran on, the respectability of Mr. Aylesbury's position received a gradual increase. He became an alderman, and subsequently a sheriff of the city; and, in consequence of the latter elevation, was knighted. Afterwards, the important place which the wealthy brewer held in the city, called down upon him the attention and favor of the king, Charles I. then anxious to conciliate the good will of the citizens; and the city knight received the further honor of baronetcy.

Lady Aylesbury, in the first year of her marriage, gave birth to a daughter, who proved an only child. This daughter had only reached the age of seventeen, when her father died, leaving an immense fortune behind him. It was first thought that the widow and daughter would become the inheritors of this, without a shadow of dispute. But it proved otherwise. Certain relatives of the deceased brewer set up a plea, upon the foundation of a will made in their favor, before the deceased had married.

With her wonted firmness, Lady Aylesbury immediately took steps for the vindication of her own and her child's rights. A young lawyer, who had been a frequent guest at her husband's table, and of whose abilities she had formed a high opinion, was the person whom she fixed upon as the legal asserter of her cause. Edward Hyde was indeed a youth of great ability. Though only twenty-four years of age, at the period referred to, and though he had spent much of his time in the society of the gay and fashionable of the day, he had not neglected the pursuits to which his family's wish, as well as his own tastes, had devoted him. But it was with considerable hesitation, and with a feeling of anxious diffidence, that he consented to undertake the charge of Lady Aylesbury's case; for certain strong, though unseen and unacknowledged sensations, were at work in his bosom, to make him fearful of the responsibility, and anxious about the result.

The young lawyer, however, became counsel for the brewer's widow and daughter; and, by a striking exertion of eloquence, and display of legal ability, gained their suit. Two days after, the successful pleader was seated beside his two clients. Lady Aylesbury's usual manner was quiet and composed; but she now spoke warmly of her gratitude to the preserver of her daughter from want, and tendered a fee munificent to the occasion. The young barrister did not seem at ease during Lady Aylesbury's expression of her feelings. He shifted upon his chair, and changed color. Thinking only of expressing her own gratitude, Lady Aylesbury appeared not to observe her visitor's confusion, but arose, saying, "In token that I hold your services above compensation in the way of money, I wish also to give you a memorial of my gratitude, in another shape." As she spoke thus, she drew a bunch of keys from her pocket, (which every lady carried in those days,) and left the room.

What passed, during her absence, between the two parties whom she left together, will be best known by the result. When Lady Aylesbury returned, her daughter met her with averted eyes, but her hand was within that of Edward, who knelt on her mother's entrance, and bescught her consent to their union. Lady Aylesbury was not long in giving the desired consent.

"Give me leave, however," said she, to the lover, "to place around your neck the memorial I intended for you. This chain,"—it was of superb gold,"—"was a token of gratitude from the ward in which he lived, to my dear husband." Lady Aylesbury's calm, serious eyes, were filled with tears as she threw the chain round Edward's neck, saying, "These links were worn by a worthy and honored man. May thou, my beloved son, attain to still higher honors."

The wish was fulfilled; though not until danger and suffering had tried severely the parties concerned. The son-in-law of Lady Aylesbury became an eminent member of the English bar, and also an important speaker in parliament. When Oliver Cromwell brought the king to the scaffold, and established the commonwealth, Sir Edward Hyde (for he had held a government post, and had been knighted) was too prominent a member of the royalist party to escape the enmity of the new rulers, and was obliged to reside on the continent until the restoration. When abroad, he was so esteemed by the exiled prince (afterwards Charles II.) as to be appointed Lord High Chancellor of England; which appointment was confirmed when the king was restored to his throne. Some years afterwards Hyde was elevated to the peerage, first in the rank of a baron, and subsequently as earl of Clarendon, a title which he made famous in England.

Lady Aylesbury had now the gratification of beholding her daughter Countess of Clarendon, and of seeing her grandchildren mingling as equals with the noblest in the land. But a still more exalted fate awaited the descendants of the poor, friendless girl, who had come to London in search of service. Her granddaughter, Anne Hyde, a young lady of spirit, wit, and beauty, had been appointed, while her family staid abroad, one of the maids of honor to the princess of Orange; and in that situation had attracted so strongly the regards of James, Duke of York, brother of Charles II. that he contracted a private marriage with her. The birth of a child forced a public announcement of this contract; and ere long, the granddaughter of Lady Aylesbury was openly received by the royal family and people of England, as Duchess of York, and sister-in-law of the sovereign.

Lady Aylesbury did not long survive this event. But ere she dropped into her grave, at a ripe old age, she saw her descendants heirs presumptive of the British crown. King Charles had married, but had no legitimate issue; and, accordingly, his brother's family had the right of succession. And, in reality, two immediate descendants of the barefooted country girl did ultimately fill the throne—Mary, (wife of William III.) and Queen Anne, both of illustrious memory.

From Mr. Colman's Agricultural Address at Rochester.

WISE WORDS TO FARMERS.

I know with what disdain many persons look upon the profession of the farmer. "It is a dirty business," say they. This offends the pride of many of these fine people, who think themselves made of porcelain, and not of common clay. It is dirt, however, which is easily washed off; but there is a good deal of dirt which men are apt to get upon themselves in their professions and occupations, which the burning tears of penitence will not even scald off. "But it has to do with manures, and offends the refined taste." Oh! the nonsense and folly of fools! and yet, in the wonder-working providence of God, this refuse becomes the creator and the source of beauty, and is to be converted into flowers, coveted as the richest ornaments to deck even the brow of maiden majesty, and into fruits as fair and luscious as ever hung from the boughs of Eden. "But then the farmers and the farmers' habitations are vulgar, and ungainly, and slovenly, and offensive." There is no order; neatness is utterly renounced; the gates are unhung; the fences are down; broken vehicles, and scattered woodpiles, encumber the door-yards, and old hats and baize petticoats ornament the broken windows. The hogs get into the kitchen, and never discover that they are not at home, until they are warned with the broomstick to quit. The hair of the bare-legged and unwashed children, looks as if they had been laid out in the snow to whiten, and had never been combed but with a piece of apple-tree brush. The mistress of the house is slipshod, and appears as though she had crawled out of the grease closet to toast herself at the cooking stove; and the master, poor man! seems to have been afflicted with the hydrophobia from his youth, and to have been subjected daily to a regular daubing, from his eyes down, with mud and tobacco juice. But I'll not finish the picture; and I will admit that, in too many cases, it is true to the life. You may say anything of its shamefulness, its disreputableness, its offensiveness, that you please, and I will agree to all of it. But none of it is necessary, no more than it is necessary in the palace yard. It is stated, by intelligent travelers, that the cow-stables of the Dutch farmers are so perfectly clean, that you might even dine in them without offense; and that no Dutch farmer is ever suffered to come into his house from his work, until he has exchanged his dirty shoes at the door for a pair of clean slippers. I know that a monarchical government prevails in those countries, the spirit of which probably diffuses itself into all the departments of society. But if our wives in this republican country have not here power enough, of which some of us (I say it with all diffidence) surely can have no doubt, I would move for an application at once to the legislature, to give them the complete sovereignty of their own domicils, provided only that they will keep their own shoes up to the heel, their aprons clean, their caps tied, and their children washed; and provided, also, that they will renounce and denounce, and never suffer their premises to be polluted by that accursed and filthy Virginia weed, which is the bane of all decency, and the corrupter of all good manners; but send it after its twin brother, whisky, who seems fast going, by general acclamation, to his own proper place. Where that place is, it might not be civil for me to say, though I believe no honest man can doubt.

There is no reason why a farmer's premises should not present an example of perfect neatness and order; why there should not be "a place for everything, and everything in its place; why the cesspool of the sink should be open under the window; why the pig-sty should make a part of the family habitation; or why, indeed, there should be anything on the premises to offend the most delicate and sensitive. I can show you many an example of this beautiful neatness and order.

The religious sect called Shakers are models in this respect. They find no difficulty in keeping everything in order. The most severe cleanliness reigns in every part of their premises. They effect this by a rigid system of neatness and order. There is no difficulty in doing this, where you can secure the voluntary co-operation of the household; and there is, in such arrangements, steadily and resolutely maintained, as much economy of time, as there is of health and comfort.

I can point to innumerable individual habitations, and, I had almost said, such has been the powerful influence of example, to whole villages, where the same habits of neatness and order universally prevail; and where, consequently, the air itself is breathed with a healthier and heartier inspiration.

Happy would it be for our farmers, if, in addition to renouncing that slovenliness, which far too generally prevails, and which in truth in every case involves not an inconsiderable loss of property, and making exactness and order triumphant in every part of their premises, they would seek to render their premises as beautiful as they can be made. Appearances should be studied in everything connected with their farms and houses. There is no class of men, in any condition of life, who have within their reach more of the materials and elements of beauty, and at a cheaper rate, than the dwellers in the country. Trees, plants, flowers, vines, are everywhere to be had for the mere trouble of getting, in some of those half-days or half-hours which occur in the busiest conditions of life, and which are so carelessly squandered by men who forget that the largest sum is composed of units, as atoms make up the mountain, and drops form the ocean.

I would have them study the principles of refined taste in the construction of their farm buildings, and observe the rules of architectural proportion and architectural beauty in all their erections, whether it be a wigwam, a log-cabin, a stable, or even a pig-sty. But why should we do this? Because these proportions are not matters of arbitrary determination, but they are fixed in nature. The violation of them is always offensive; the observance of them always gives pleasure. Such erections cost no more than buildings constructed with an entire disregard to them. Then, again, in the construction and condition of farm implements and vehicles, though I would not encourage any useless finery, yet I would have them made in the best manner, and kept in the best condition. This should be done on the plainest principles of economy. An implement, a wagon, or a carriage, that is neatly painted and varnished, and kept clean, will be so much the more carefully used. In general, what men most value, they will most care for; what they take most pains to keep, they will take most pains in using; what those about you see you value, unless in cases of extraordinary perversity, they will value. How constantly do we hear the expressions, "It is new, don't deface it;" "It is clean, don't soil it;" or, "It is dirty, or broken, or old, I don't care for it." Send two children into the street; let one be a bare-headed, bare-footed, ragamuffin, with a face which perhaps never had more than one thorough washing, hair that never heard of any finer comb than his own greasy fingers, and a mouth about which are grimmed in, and stuccoed in relief, the remains of a week's broth or porridge, and nobody would think of giving him a hand to help through any mud-puddle, or over any gutter, unless where they thought he would be drowned; and this only perhaps because the admonitions of conscience might be a little stronger than their disgust at the sight of him; and if he should get run over in the street, you would hear no other remark than that he was a dirty dog, and might have got out of the way. On the other hand, send a sweet little girl into the street, looking like a new blown rose, with the glistening dew-drops hanging from its leaves, with her neat bonnet, without a shade upon its lustre, her frock emulating the snow-drift in its whiteness, her unsoiled stockings indicating the perfection of nature's statuary beneath them, her shoes reflecting the brightest polish of art, and, above all, her face as clean, as fair, as transparent as you know her untainted mind is under all this, and there is not a chimney-sweep so low that he would not give her the sidewalk, nor a clown, even among the most clownish, who would not, if he dared to touch her, wipe his hands upon his clothes, and with delight carry her half a mile over the crossings, rather than that she should soil, I had almost said, even the sole of her slipper. I hope you will pardon the homeliness of my illustrations. I wish to be understood; and in firing among the crowd, if I should happen to wound any one, I trust I shall not bring blood; for my arrows are sent on no hostile mission, and they are neither barbed nor poisoned.

I would have the windows of the farm-house adorned with flowers, not in rusty, tin measures, and old, black-glazed teapots, and glass bottles, with the necks broken off, but in whole and handsome flower-pots, or neatly painted, wooden boxes, for they really cost nothing. I would have the piazzas or porches trellised with vines, even with scarlet runners, if nothing better can be had. I would have the door-yard filled with flowers and shrubbery, and the roadside lined with trees; here a clump, and there a single line, mingling the varieties as nature mingles them, cultivating them for fruit, and cultivating them for mere ornament and beauty. But this is all, you will tell me, for appearance sake? Well, is appearance nothing? Did you think nothing of appearance when you chose your wives; and nothing of your own appearance when you wished them to confirm the election? But why should the pleasures of sight be so lightly esteemed? Why should they be spoken of in the language of disdain or indifference? Are they not as rational, as respectable, as valuable, as abundant, as innocent, as the pleasures of the other senses? Are they not, indeed, the very elements of some of the most refined pleasures of the mind and heart? Has God given us the sense of sight, so wonderful, so capacious, so infinitely varied in its resources and objects, for no purpose? Is appearance nothing? What is more studied throughout the Creator's works? What object is there in nature, from the highest to the lowest, animate or inanimate, swimming in the sea or in the air, on the surface, or buried in the earth, which is not, upon examination, found to be as beautiful, as if it were finished for no other purpose than to be looked at? Take the shell that lies in the bottom of the ocean, the bird that bathes his wings in Heaven's purest light, the flowers that carpet the earth with their varied splendor, the glittering stars that light up the deep arches of the skies with an eternal glory; take the combination of the countless elements of beauty, when the morning slowly lights up the veil of night, and, as at the dawn of the creation, reveals the glories of the visible world, or when spring breathes upon the earth, and recalls the dead to life, and myriads and myriads of forms of new beings come forth at her voice; take the descending sun as he reclines upon his western throne, and wraps around him the gorgeous robe of an unrivalled majesty; take the perfection of beauty as seen in a nearer, but more transcendant form, in man himself, in his symmetrical stature, in the well turned limbs, in the web of unrivalled softness and texture, which covers him, in the tints of his complexion, in the grace of his movements, in the melody of his voice, in the eloquence of the eye, pouring out the fires of genius, or radiant with the charms of the affections, and so speaking to the soul; and will men say that appearance is nothing, and that the pleasures of the sight are not to be valued and cultivated? I say that appearance is always to be regarded; that *we cannot render our homes too beautiful and attractive.* Our first object should be to make our dwellings as convenient and comfortable as art can make them; our second object should be to render them to an equal extent tasteful and elegant. Do what we can, and all we can, we shall fall far short of rivalling even the simplest forms and combinations of nature.

We should do this on the ground of self-interest. Separate from the pleasures which we ourselves derive from it, it essentially increases the value of our estates. The beauty of a place, the ornamental trees and shrubs, even the garden flowers which embellish it, are always objects of attraction to a purchaser. We should do this from considerations of benevolence. Buildings, erected in good taste and proportions, and exhibiting a refined judgment and skill, and grounds highly cultivated and embellished, charm the eye of the traveller or passer by, and allow us to impart most bountifully, without diminishing our own stores. But there is another influence not to be overlooked. Habits of order and neatness, mere personal cleanliness, still more the cultivation of a taste for beauty in ourselves and in everything which surrounds us and comes under our control, are in themselves promoters and securities of virtue. They become so by inspiring self-respect, and exalting our sense of character. The man who is known to respect himself, is always, in a measure, for that reason alone, secure of the respect of others. He finds, in that fact, a protection from incitements within to wrong and unworthy actions, or against degrading and dishonorable propositions from without. There are likewise a natural sympathy and connection between the love of natural beauty and the love of moral beauty. Respecting that in the physical world which is neat, useful, regular, symmetrical, and elegant, we come naturally to love and venerate in the moral world that which is of a corresponding type and character. Whatever tends in the best sense to inspire or strengthen a sentiment of the dignity of our nature, serves to secure us from that which is degrading, unworthy, and dishonorable. Personal appearance and personal manners are of vastly more importance, in a moral view, than men in general are willing to consider them. Vulgarity and slovenliness lead to low tastes and pursuits. I am not anxious to see the race of gentlemen farmers, technically so called, increased, though I feel no prejudice against them; but I am very anxious that *all farmers should be gentlemen.* I have no partiality for the kid-glove style of farming; but, on the other hand, I cannot see why the farmer should go with his hands unwashed. I have not a little contempt for a farmer, who would consider himself above performing any labor which the business of the farm might render necessary, whether it be standing in the ditch, or treading down the manure heap; but I cannot think it necessary to his proper character, as a farmer, that he should carry about him, when his services are finished, the badges of his employment, to the discredit of his own appearance, or to the offense and discomfort of others.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

A good many petitions for the abolition of capital punishment have been presented to the Massachusetts legislature, and referred to a special committee. Several popular meetings have likewise been held in Boston, for the discussion of this important subject.

The following sarcastic petition was presented, a short time ago, and produced no little excitement, as well as amusement:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully represent—that in their opinion, capital punishment is not only inexpedient and inefficacious, as a means of preventing crime, but contrary to the dictates of humanity, and the law of God. They, therefore, pray your honorable bodies to abolish such punishment in this commonwealth.

If, however, such abolition shall, for any reason, be deemed inexpedient at the present time, your petitioners earnestly pray that the awfully solemn duty of hanging the convicted criminal, and ushering the guilty soul into the presence of God, instead of being longer imposed upon sheriffs, whose humane feelings are often shocked by such brutality, may hereafter be assigned to *hangmen*, such as your wisdom may enable you to select, out of that numerous portion of the *clergy*, who are the most zealous advocates of *judicial murder*, and through whose influence the inhuman practise has been so long continued. Your petitioners conceive that such an arrangement would be peculiarly fitting and proper; since the hanging of the criminal, if demanded by the requisitions of the Divine law, is the most *solemn* and *sacred* duty imposed upon man, and ought to be performed only by men who have been *ordained* and *consecrated* as ministers of God. And your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed) JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
FEBRUARY, 1843. with 20 others.

The Boston correspondent of the Tribune says:

"Of course the petitioners intended only to create excitement, by calling public attention to the question, and to give a certain portion of the clergy what they deemed a fair hit, on account of their zealous defense of the gallows. For my own part, I do not see why, if the execution of the criminal is demanded by the divine law, the performance of that duty (which all must admit, in that case, to be one of great solemnity and importance) should be deemed 'degrading' to any class of men—least of all to those who are, in a peculiar sense, the executioners of the will of God on earth. Can it be that God has required of any class of men,—sheriffs any more than clergymen,—that they should degrade themselves? This spontaneous confession of the advocates of capital punishment, that the office of the hangman is a 'degrading' one, is very significant to my mind, and sufficient to upset any quantity of theological argument which they can urge in favor of the practice. At any rate, I think the clerical defenders of the gallows are pretty fairly hit by this novel petition."

GEMS FROM JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

The songs of a nation are like wild flowers pressed, as it were by chance, between the blood-stained pages of history.

The Infinite sends its messages to us by untutored spirits, and the lips of little children, and the unboastful beauty of simple nature; not with the sound of trumpet, and the tramp of mail-clad hosts. Simplicity and commonness are the proofs of Beauty's divinity. Earnestly and beautifully touching is this eternity of simple feeling from age to age; this trustfulness with which the heart flings forth to the winds its sybilline leaves, to be gathered and cherished as oracles forever.

Fleets and navies are overwhelmed and forgotten; but some tiny, love-freighted argosy, launched (like those of the Hindoo maidens) upon the stream of time, in days now behind the horizon, floats down to us, with its frail lamp yet burning.

The heart that *makes* free only *is* free; and the tyrant always is truly the bondman of his slaves. The longing of every soul is for freedom, which it gains only by helping *other* souls to theirs.

We hear men often enough speak of seeing God in the stars and the flowers, but they will never be truly religious, till they learn to behold him in *each other* also, where he is most easily, yet most rarely discovered.

Miscellaneous Items.

PICTURES OF THE SOUTHWEST.

A Dignified Legislator.—Toward the close of the session of Congress preceding the last, Mr. Sprigg, of Kentucky, had a fracas at the eating-house under the House of Representatives, and received a severe wound in his hand, from a collision with broken glass; and at the close of this last session, at an eating-house in Pennsylvania avenue, he got into a fight with a person named Drudge, a miller's cart-driver, which terminated in his opponent biting the largest portion of his ear off! Dr. Sewall did his best to repair the mischief, but the fragment of Mr. Sprigg's ear, (which is now in the doctor's possession,) was too much lacerated to be restored, and the honorable member will of course carry the mark of the scuffle to his grave.

Were this tale to be related in any subsequent "Notes for General Circulation," would it not be set down as a signal instance of the mendacity of travelers?

An Affray.—Mr. Waters, a member of the Arkansas legislature, on his way to his residence, in Jackson county, in that State, lately quarreled with a ferryman, named Henderson, who was boating him across the river. They got into a fight, in the course of which the ferryman stabbed the legislator with a butcher knife, with which he had just been killing hogs. The lawgiver was not so seriously injured but that hopes are entertained of his recovery. The ferryman was discharged by ajustice of the peace, before whom he was brought, upon the ground that he was acting in self-defense. Such is the rude life of Arkansas.

Lynching in Mississippi.—The Gallatin Signal, of the 10th ultimo, states that on Tuesday, the 7th, two negro men, belonging to a Mr. Burnett, were forcibly taken from the premises of that gentleman, about seven miles south of that place, and hanged, without the benefit of clergy, judge, or jury. This is a most disgraceful affair, and the circumstances which led to it, are briefly these: A few days previous, the negroes went to the house of a Mr. Noland, when that gentleman was not at home, and after abusing his wife, rifled all the trunks, drawers, &c. about the house, and decamped. This outrage was immediately made known to the proper authorities, who, neglecting to take the necessary steps to have the negroes arrested forthwith, a number of Mr. Noland's friends assembled together, to the number of about twenty, and went in a body to Mr. Burnett's, and, taking the negroes from his overseer, hanged them without ceremony, as above stated.

Lynch Law.—A western paper gives the following occurrence in Shelby county, Missouri:

A merchant of Marion county, who had a judgment and execution against a farmer for forty dollars, levied upon his stock, which was sold, the merchant buying it in for sixteen dollars. Afterwards the merchant sold the cattle for one hundred dollars, and then tried to enforce from the debtor the balance of the judgment. He was summarily waited upon by a committee of three of the neighborhood, tied to a tree, and fifteen lashes, with a hickory, laid on his bare back, by each member of the committee.

An inexorable creditor had sued a poor man for one hundred and twenty dollars, and levied upon all his property, refusing indulgence. On the day of sale, the assembled neighbors requested the officer to first put up what they significantly styled "Judge Lynch's horse," a fence rail, with legs to it, avowing that the buyers of the farmer's property, must take a ride on the judge's horse; the creditor took the hint, and no sale was made.

PROPOSALS FOR PUBLISHING A VOLUME

OF THE

Writings of William Lloyd Garrison.

The undersigned proposes to publish, (as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained to warrant the undertaking,) a volume of SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. The volume will be a duodecimo, of 300 pages or more, neatly printed, on good paper, and substantially bound; with an introduction by a distinguished friend of the anti-slavery cause. The Selections will comprise his best articles, both in Poetry and Prose, and the whole will be submitted to his personal inspection and revision.

The price of the volume will be *One Dollar* to single subscribers, payable on delivery.

Persons who will procure five subscribers, and be responsible for the same on the appearance of the work, shall be entitled to the sixth copy without further charge. The undersigned earnestly invites every subscriber of the Liberator, or any of the journals in which this advertisement shall appear, to avail himself of this offer, and to forward the names of subscribers to him, at 25 Cornhill, *post paid.*

The work will be delivered at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Providence, as subscribers may direct.

The profits, if any, will be applied to Mr. Garrison's own benefit. OLIVER JOHNSON.

Boston, February 22, 1843.

Health, Quiet, and Comfort!!

THE Graham House, 63 Barclay street, New-York proffers advantages to strangers stopping a few days or weeks in the city, such as are rarely offered. It is eligibly located, on a clean and airy street, very near the business part of the city, and in the immediate vicinity of the principal steamboat landings. Its apartments are convenient and neat, while its table is supplied with the best vegetables and fruits that can be procured, excluding, entirely, animal food, and stimulants of all kinds. Charges moderate, and every effort made to render boarders comfortable. Shower baths free. Remember